

Gc
974.402
L22t
1774692

REYNOLDS HISTORICAL
GENEALOGY COLLECTION

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 1833 00085 2845

ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT THE

Dedication of Memorial Hall, Lancaster,

JUNE 17, 1868.

By CHRISTOPHER T. THAYER;

AND

ODE,

By H. F. BUSWELL.

With an Appendix.

BOSTON:
NICHOLS AND NOYES,
117, WASHINGTON STREET.
1868.

1774692

F

Thayer, Christopher Toppan.

84441

.87

Address delivered at the dedication of Memorial hall, Lancaster, June 17, 1868. By Christopher T. Thayer; and Ode, by H. F. Buswell. With an appendix. Boston, Nichols and Noyes, 1868.

1 p. l., (9)-71 p. 23^{cm}.

CHIEF CARD

1. Lancaster, Mass.—Hist. 1. Buswell, Henry Foster, 1842-

Library of Congress



F74.L2T3

1-12357

1824c11

5037

19m. 96

ADDRESS.

MY FRIENDS,—For such I feel that I may address you, one and all,—here in this charming valley, surrounded by those hills over which are drawn waving lines of beauty, crowned queen among the valleys with living green and golden sunshine, we have met together; some to whom this is their first and only home, others having here their chosen residence, some returning to the loved place of their nativity, others who have here taught or studied and lived, others still comparatively strangers; yet all of us attracted by objects that themselves bind us in common ties, and make us one in mutual regard and friendship.

It has been said of some of our States, that they were good places in which to be born, but not to live. But even the stranger, as he looks upon these lovely scenes, must admit that this is a goodly land in which to dwell; and that he must be hard to please, if not guilty of great ingratitude, who cannot here find a happy abode. For my own part, I must say—pardon me, if it be egotistically—that, though my lot has been mostly cast in some of the pleasantest places by the sea, and for a long period amid many of the most beautiful and interesting regions across the ocean and in the old world, I can truly and from the heart say,—

“Where’er I roam, whatever realms to see,
My heart untravell’d fondly turns to thee,”—

To thee, the home of my infancy and youth, where first I breathed the breath of life, on which my eyes first opened, and



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2015

on which they have never ceased to rest with delight. And now, through the public spirit, generosity, and excellent taste of the citizens, has been added to it the new charm of a noble memorial of the patriotic dead, coupled with an intellectual mine of inexhaustible and immeasurable wealth, which shall improve and bless the present and succeeding generations.

The interest taken in this enterprise is indicated and testified to by the numbers I now see before me. Probably, on no former occasion has so large an audience been assembled on this green, unless it were when Lafayette, our country's great benefactor, was welcomed as the nation's guest. The arch under which he was received was but an emblem of that in the heart of the whole country, spanning, like the vault of heaven, the entire land. Many present, I am sure, will agree with me in wishing that the clear, deep, sonorous voice which gave him welcome, that of the minister of this church, the only place of worship at that time in the town, might be heard here and now. Certain I am, that, if heard at all, it would be uttered in entire accordance with the purposes of this assembling, and would be in tones of rejoicing that any of his children should take a part, however humble, on this occasion.

Two objects are embraced in it. The first is to dedicate a suitable and grateful memorial of your brave fellow-citizens, who at their country's call, and in the ardor of patriotic impulse, went forth from among you, life in hand, ready to peril life and all they held dear on earth, to do and die, and actually did lay down their own lives for the saving of that of the nation. This is in singular and beautiful harmony with the call which within a few weeks has sounded through the length and breadth of our land; and been instinctively, as it were, and so cordially and universally responded to, for decorating with flowers the graves of soldiers and heroes fallen in the great civil conflict through which we have lately passed. A spirit like that expressed in the lines of one of England's most gifted poets, Mrs. Hemans, seems in response to that call to have possessed the hearts of our people: —

"Bring flowers, pale flowers, o'er the bier to shed,
 A crown for the brow of the early dead.
 For this through its leaves hath the white rose burst,
 For this in the woods was the violet nursed.
 Though they smile in vain for what once was ours,
 They are love's last gift: bring ye flowers, pale flowers."

The general burst of enthusiasm with which the sacred rite was performed, answered well to the glowing words, in which General Logan, commander of the Grand Army of the Republic, in an order designating the thirtieth day of May last, for strewing with flowers, or otherwise decorating, the graves of comrades who died in defence of their country, says, "If other eyes grow dull, and other hands slack, and other hearts cold in the solemn trust, ours shall keep it well as long as the light and warmth of life remain to us. Let us then, at the time appointed, gather around their sacred remains, and garland the passionless mounds above them with the choicest flowers of spring-time; let us raise above them the dear old flag they saved from dishonor; let us in this solemn presence renew our pledges to aid those whom they have left among us, a sacred charge upon a nation's gratitude, the soldier's and sailor's widow and orphan."

I rejoice that similar demonstrations of feeling and taste were made for those who were arrayed and fell in the hostile ranks. Though foes for a time, they yet were our countrymen, our fellow-countrymen. Some of them were forced into a service, which at heart they despised and detested; others being deluded by bad counsels, or swayed by prejudice, or acting and fighting from honest and strong conviction; while others there may have been, and I think were, actuated by ambitious, selfish, cruel motives, to whose names, however we may forgive them in our hearts or commend them to the mercy of God, will adhere a cleaving curse. Still the late floral solemnities are to be rejoiced in, as indicating progress in real sentiment and refined taste. Whether observed in relation to victors or vanquished, they may be hailed as harbingers of a brighter and better day, when the amenities and arts of peace shall be cultivated and

exercised, and higher refinement and elevation of character be attained. My friend Professor Russell, whom for all but "the critic's eye" I am happy to see with us to-day, many years ago, — neither he nor myself might care to say definitely how many, — in one of his elocutionary lessons (from which, if all his pupils had been as apt to learn as he was to teach, you might at this time be gainers), remarked, that a great defect in the American mind was a want of emotional cultivation. In his native Scotland, he said, it was common for parents, even the inhabitants of humble cottages, to call forth their children to admire and receive permanent and deep impressions of the beauties and sublimities of nature. Not so was it then with us. But, while there has since been an improved appreciation of what is interesting and exciting in natural objects, dull and slow of heart must we have been, if, amid all the stirring, trying scenes through which in the last few years we have passed, we have not had our souls moved to their lowest deeps, and had a depth and power of emotion, patriotic, moral, and religious, to which before we were utter strangers. This anniversary of the ever-memorable battle of Bunker Hill, so fraught with strong, patriotic, and, if rightly viewed, pious emotion, has been most appropriately selected for these commemorative and dedicatory services. Many circumstances combined to render that battle a grand event and turning point in the history, not of our country only, but of the world. Considered merely as a military drama, it was one of the most dramatic ever presented to human view. As, lately, I stood on an elevation overlooking the principal scenes connected with it, and recurred in thought to what they who stood there on the 17th of June, 1775, must have witnessed, I was struck anew with the impression that, for grandeur and effect, it could scarcely, if ever, have been exceeded. There, on that height, which, for what was suffered and achieved, may well be to us a Mount of remembrance, was the small band, — behind intrenchments, which like Jonah's gourd had sprung up in a night, — assailed by deadly missiles from batteries and vessels of war. Then there were mustering of troops on Boston Common, and marching to the points of embarka-

tion, and gathering on the eastern point of the peninsula of Charlestown, all clad in brilliant military trappings and burnished armor. All the surrounding dwellings and hill-tops, meanwhile, were crowded with earnest, anxious spectators of the great tragedy to be enacted. Forward! the order was given, when the proud host advanced; and at the moment of assured triumph they were met by a reserved fire, which, while consigning many brave officers and men to their last account, produced a recoil which even the bravest could not withstand. The discomfited were rallied, only to be again driven back with dreadful shedding of blood and loss of life. Once more, with ranks re-inforced and vastly superior numbers, they returned to the charge and succeeded in driving from their intrenchments those who, with exhausted ammunition, could only resist them with the butts of their muskets, and a resolute will. Meantime Charlestown had been fired by the enemy, and the flames and smoke and crackling of fires mingled with the overhanging clouds and awful din of battle. For miles around this scene of smoke and flame, and dread conflict was beheld; and where not seen, was heard and felt in the roar of musketry and cannon, so as to be accounted, especially with the great issues impending, among the most impressive events of war.

On that literally "high place of the field," many good and brave men acted and fell. From this town one, David Robbins, was killed on the spot; and another, Robert Phelps, died of his wounds soon after the battle. But then and there, chief among the sacrifices laid on the altar of their country, was General Joseph Warren. Distinguished in his youth by fine physical and mental endowments, the youth was significant of the man. There is a tradition, received from some of the older inhabitants, in which I am confirmed by one here present, who is not likely to be found at fault in traditionary lore, that during his collegiate course at Cambridge, he taught a district school of this town. Certain it is, that at the age of nineteen years he was appointed master of the grammar school in Roxbury, which he conducted with marked success. By education a scholar, by profession a physician, fitted by natural and acquired

gifts to be eminent and successful in the profession of his choice, and having actually attained honorable distinction in it, he was impelled by his ardor as a patriot, and the claim urged by his fellow-countrymen on his acknowledged and great abilities, to devote himself mainly to the absorbing civil interests of the time. The superiority he displayed in these, as in other respects, is sufficiently proved by the remark of John Adams, that he regarded him, and his compatriot, Josiah Quincy, as two of the ablest and most accomplished men then living. On the 5th of March, 1775, the anniversary of the Boston massacre, which was celebrated in the Old South meeting-house, he was the orator. Revolutionary discussions, agitations, and events were rapidly approaching a crisis. Just as the exercises were about commencing, the patriot, Samuel Adams, of whom with good reason it has been affirmed, that he, more than any other man, commanded our nation into existence, who presided, was informed, in tones of hurry and alarm, that many British officers were at the doors, viewing themselves, no doubt, in duty bound to preserve peace and order, and guard against, and, if need be, suppress, sedition and rebellion. With the utmost calmness and urbanity he replied, "Invite the gentlemen in;" at the same time ordering that the front seats should be cleared for their accommodation. Not feeling at liberty to decline so bland an invitation, in they came; and there they sat in the midst of that vast and crowded assembly, listening in all probability to as close preaching as ever issued from the Old South pulpit. Warren commenced his oration by announcing as his subject, "The Danger of Standing Armies in Time of Peace," — a rather bold announcement, considering that Boston was then in the possession of British troops, stationed there to overawe and keep in subjection her own and the neighboring populations. And undaunted by the hisses of opponents and foes, nor unduly elated and tempted to extravagance by the cheers of friends, — for with one or other of these salutations was he repeatedly and often met, — he discussed his theme with a self-possession, thoroughness, and power of eloquence which placed him in the front rank of orators, patriots, and brave

men. Altogether, this scene may be viewed as a fitting prelude to the actual hostilities which, little more than a month later, opened on the plains of Lexington and Concord.

Yet the hour of his departure and sacrifice was at hand. His few remaining months and days were passed amid most exciting scenes and momentous events, and were filled to the full with duties performed, with high and varied usefulness. On committees for sustaining and carrying on the war, President of the Provincial Assembly, then appointed major-general in the army, the amount of duty discharged, the ascendancy acquired, the influence exerted, by this young man, who at his death was not much more than thirty years of age, may fairly be accounted among the marvels of civil and political history.

When it was apparent that the British general (Gage) had resolved on forthwith driving the Americans from their position on Charlestown heights, the gallant Major Brooks — afterward distinguished in fiercely contested fields during the Revolution, and since for years the greatly respected and beloved Governor of Massachusetts, whom many of us beheld and remember as a model of grace and dignity on yonder parade-ground, at the largest and most imposing military review ever held in this vicinity, to whose recital of thrilling incidents in the Revolutionary War, and especially in its first great battle, I have often listened with rapt interest — was despatched to headquarters at Cambridge to call for re-inforcements. These Warren expressed a determination to join. To his friend Elbridge Gerry, who sought to dissuade him from so doing, and urgently remonstrated against his thus exposing his invaluable life, he simply, and as if with a presentiment of his fall, replied, "*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*," — sweet and glorious is it to die for one's country. Similar in expression, showing a like determined and self-sacrificing spirit, and in some of its terms strikingly applicable to the nature of our late civil strife, was this declaration of an Essex-County convention, in September of the previous year: "Though above all things, slavery excepted, we deprecate the evils of a civil war; though we are deeply anxious to restore and preserve harmony with our breth-

ren in Great Britain ; yet, if the despotism and violence of our enemies should finally reduce us to the sad necessity, we, undaunted, are ready to appeal to the last resort of States ; and will, in support of our rights, encounter even death, sensible that he can never die too soon who lays down his life in support of the laws and liberties of his country."

Arrived on what was soon to be the field of desperate conflict, the presence of Warren is hailed by the troops with shouts of joy and triumph, and imparts a magic impulse to that devoted band of citizen and patriot soldiers. There he stands and moves, resplendent in manly beauty and vigor, in exalted feeling and sublime heroism, with the "rose of heaven on his cheek, and the fire of liberty in his eye." The veteran Colonel Prescott hastens to greet him, and, in deference to his superior rank, offers him the chief command. But no: that he positively declines. He has come to obey, not to direct ; to learn, from veterans of larger experience and former wars, — and from no truer or more valiant officers and men could he learn, — to serve in the ranks, and share with the common soldier the perils and glories there to be met or acquired. Through the surging waves of the awful succeeding conflict, he is courageous, firm, ever on the alert, and most effective. And at the sounding of a retreat, because of exhausted ammunition and overpowering numbers, he is among the last to retire, and receives the fatal wound by which he is placed among the highest on the list of our country's martyrs and benefactors.

Let me now for a moment ask your attention to the remarkable providences through which, by a singular inversion, defeat was turned to victory, and ever since has been celebrated as such. In a mere military point of view, I believe it is admitted by those best capable of judging, that decided mistakes were committed on both sides. The Americans had stationed themselves on a peninsula connected with the main land by a narrow isthmus, which was enfiladed, and, to a great extent commanded, by the fire of British vessels, — so that they must incur extreme danger, if not starvation and capture. On the other hand, the British, by venturing a direct attack, were liable to, and actually

did, suffer immense loss ; whereas, if they had bided their time, they could, with the forces they had at command on land and water, have compelled to retreat, or reduced to surrender, those of the Americans. Not so was it in the divine counsels. Man proposes, but God disposes. On a warm Saturday afternoon in June, the flower of the British army sallied forth from the metropolis, flushed with anticipations of an easy triumph over hastily gathered and undisciplined troops ; but before nightfall they were in the midst of one of the bloodiest tragedies, in proportion to the numbers engaged, ever enacted in modern warfare, and themselves by far the greatest losers and sufferers. The consequence was, that the patriot army was inspired by the results of the contest with new confidence in their prowess, and renewed assurance of ultimate success and triumph. Moreover, the blood of the martyred heroes cried from the ground. Warren, their chief's name, alone, was a talisman to rouse and sway the hearts of his countrymen. As the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church ; as by the greatest sacrifice men have been prompted to become living sacrifices and holy offerings, — so the blood, shed in the solemn and momentous scene we have now contemplated, had a living power to move to the high resolution and persistent endeavor, that it should not have been spilt in vain.

Like providences have been known in our recent experience. Thrillingly have they been recognized by not a few among us. I do not mean to intimate that Providence does not work, is not ruling and overruling, in the midst of all events and human affairs. Still it may be admitted, that the divine hand and agency are more manifested, more peculiarly and strongly marked, in some of them than in most others. Take, for instance, the first overt act of violence and military demonstration in the late rebellion. It was not the disproportion of numbers between the little band that defended Fort Sumter, and the hosts that besieged it, — though that took mighty hold of the general sympathy, — which wrought most deeply on the national heart. It was the dishonoring and bringing down of our country's flag ; which none of us till then, when, grasped

by sacrilegious hands and foul treason, it was trailed in the dust, knew or felt how much we loved it, or realized the sublime meaning wrapped in its folds, — that it was the sacred sign and symbol, the living representative, as it were, of the union, integrity, peace, prosperity, — the very life, — of the nation; of all the privileges and blessings in which as fellow-countrymen we rejoice and glory, and by which its name and existence are endeared to our souls. They who had thought to “fire the Southern heart,” soon found another and a stronger one fired, — that, in place of the dragons’ teeth they had sown, there sprung up hosts of armed men, ready at all hazards to sustain their country’s cause, and answer in full accord to the all but inspired appeal of the patriotic poet, —

“Stand by the flag,
All doubt and treason scorning.
Believe, with courage firm, and faith sublime,
That it shall wave,
Till the eternal morning
Pales in its glories all the lights of time.”

So, in the ever-memorable passage through Baltimore on the 19th of April, 1861, when victims from our own State and neighborhood were freely laid on the altar of liberty, while on the way to save the ark of the nation’s freedom, do we see the same guiding, providential hand. The coincidence in date was, of itself, a providence, — pointing in the same direction, and leading to the same grand result, as that of April 19, 1775, and was not without strong effect on the public mind. He, the late Governor Andrew, under whom those victims were marshalled and sent forth on their blessed errand, who so touchingly directed their remains to be tenderly cared for and returned to the homes which their untimely fate had left desolate, was in himself a providence. In him were wonderfully combined sensibility, sagacity, administrative energy, and ability. Scenting treason, with its wiles and workings, from afar, he showed wisdom and true greatness in at once preparing to meet and repel it. Ever, amid so many other tokens of his credit and renown, will it be remembered to his honor, that, owing to

his foresight and efforts, Massachusetts troops, from nearly five hundred miles' distance, were the first to appear in defence of the capital. Not, as in one instance at least of ancient Rome, by the cackling of geese, but by the keen-sighted, true-hearted, indefatigable efforts of our citizens, — and foremost among them the honored, beloved, and, I grieve to add, lamented Andrew, — was the capital saved.

Then there was the first battle in the War of the Rebellion, — that of Bull Run. Being in England at the time it occurred, I was under painful apprehensions of the tendencies of our affairs. Distance is said to lend enchantment, but may also to the humblest minds give correctness, to the view. The cry heard from some of the leading journals was, "On to Richmond!" An insane *furor* was abroad, implying that advance only was necessary, and all would go well, and ignoring the artful and deeply laid schemes and actual talents and resources of the rebel chiefs. So that when one evening, at the residence of our minister, Mr. Adams, the intelligence of the disastrous defeat which had befallen us came to me, it seemed rather as the bursting of an impending cloud, than an occasion for extreme surprise. Though not, in itself, calculated to favor deep sleep, I slept upon it as well as I could. And the next morning I had come to the conclusion which, if not the most gratifying to national pride, was the most comforting and the best of which the circumstances admitted; and that was, that the mortifying disaster was a necessary and salutary discipline, which would only tend to rouse the supporters of the Union to more definite and strenuous efforts for its preservation. In one faith I then as never faltered, — that the union of these States must and would be preserved. Swiss said to me, "Are we, the little lone republic of Europe, to be left altogether solitary and alone; and you, the great one, to which we have looked as model, guide, and guardian, to be dissolved and melt into thin air?" Italians asked, "Is your great nation to be sundered into North and South, if not an indefinite number of fragments, while we are struggling to bring our glorious old peninsula to one political faith, and under one consolidated and benign government?"

Germans, too, striving for the concentration of magnificent powers, which had been frittered and all but thrown away and annihilated by division and subdivision, and which have since been, and are now in process of being, so nobly concentrated and maintained, exclaimed, with a feeling akin to despair, "Are all our theories of unity false? all our strivings for it vain? Is it altogether a hollow and sad delusion?" Frenchmen there were, who expressed cordial sympathy with our countrymen in the distractions and trials through which they were passing; but many of the same nation went hand in hand, heart in heart, with their Emperor in his covert, but poorly concealed, hostility to our Union; by which, and in the spirit of which, he, taking advantage of our civil commotions, sought — ill-fated and disastrous though the effort proved — to erect an empire in Mexico; which, if not absolutely annexed to the Southern would-be Confederacy, should be nearly allied to that; both of them being under his domination, and both opposed to the progress of our free republican institutions. Englishmen, — what shall I say of them, our kinsmen and brethren, dwellers in our father-land? Some of them with tears in their eyes, and, I doubt not, from the depths of their souls, deplored the calamities under which we were struggling, national life and death being held in the balance. Ever is it to be recorded to the honor and glory of the workingmen of England, that at all risks, even that of starvation for themselves and their families, they stood up without faltering and inflexibly for what they clearly discerned was not more the cause of union than of freedom. This they did, with a common sense and right feeling, which afford strong grounds of hope and satisfaction in the future; notwithstanding the Prime Minister, Palmerston, in the Commons, and the Foreign Secretary, Russell, in the House of Lords, had declared our condition hopeless, and our union of States irrevocably sundered; notwithstanding lords and gentry and many others fully believed in the dissolution of that union, and large commercial interests were joined with rebels against it, in committing depredations on our commerce, by which it was sorely crippled and threatened with annihilation even; though

a day of reckoning is at hand, as sure as any event of national policy can be, in which I trust just recompense to the uttermost farthing will be rigorously insisted on. But, amid all questionings and forebodings in that hour of severe and dread crisis for our country, I had but one opinion, one reply, one confidence; which substantially was, that whatever the difficulties, dangers, vicissitudes through which we had to pass, — and they might be various and multiform, — we should come out the brighter and better, more free, prosperous, and happy for the trials we had endured. And with something of exultation may I ask, Is it not so? or is it not so to be?

Another incident, marvellous in itself and considered merely as a coincidence, but illustrative of the wonderful providence by which through direst straits we were carried on, occurred at the mouth of the Chesapeake, in the vicinity of what proved to be our last strong fortress, Monroe. When the iron-clad “Merrimac,” wrought with cunning art and amazing device by our foes, had wreaked death and destruction on a portion of the fleet anchored there, in a single day, and only waited the return of morning to devour as a Leviathan of the deep all the rest, there appeared in the distance, no larger than a man’s hand and scarcely visible above the water, an angel of deliverance, a new invention and mere experiment, yet destined to work a complete revolution in naval warfare, the “Monitor,” under command of the heroic, self-sacrificing, and all but sacrificed, Worden. At dawn of day, as the monster came, bent on and sure of his prey, he was met like the eagle by the king-bird, like Goliath by David, an apparently insignificant, but ultimately victorious, antagonist. And, before the setting of the sun, he had retired to his hiding-place, to be no more seen or known, or, at most, to be counted among the things past and gone.

The prolongation of the War of the Rebellion is to be regarded as among the leadings of a kind and merciful Providence. Heavily as it bore upon us, deeply wounded and grieved as we were to give up, in behalf of our country’s liberties, one after another, whole hecatombs, indeed, of our bravest and best, some of us saw then, and all must now see, that it was

good for us to have been thus afflicted. Surely it was no mean sacrifice, and equally sure is it that it was for no unworthy ends. By that delay and those prolonged trials, our people were brought to a true and exact comprehension of the real state of affairs, to realize that it was not the preservation of the Union, but the abominable and ever-to-be-execrated institution of human slavery, which was the actual issue. Slow, cautious, heeding carefully constitutional provisions, by which some of the warmest friends of freedom were embarrassed, the executive at length, and none too soon, planted itself on the strong, impregnable ground of universal emancipation, as a military necessity; thus virtually wiping away the stripes, and leaving only the stars to adorn our country's banner. How meekly, wisely, and kindly the race held in bondage to downright slavery, or prejudice scarcely less absolute, in relation to whose fate the war was in fact raging, bore themselves; how, when summoned to the contest, they were among the bravest and most valiant, neither you nor I need be told. History will sufficiently record their bravery, and attest their genuine worth. But the grand result—the placing of our political institutions on their original and legitimate basis, that of the free and equal rights of all men—is due to the protracted, painful, oft-times disheartening, but finally triumphant, struggle through which we have lately passed. Had our triumph been earlier, we should have triumphed less, if at all. Complete triumph was the only adequate assurance that the victory was worth having. Blessed be God, who gave us the victory, by which free institutions were vindicated, by which the down-trodden were raised up and delivered, and the free made free indeed!

One more providence I must, in consonance with my own convictions, mention, though it is in no partisan spirit that I allude to it. What I refer to is not the prolongation of the trials of war, but those of peace. When war had ceased, many vainly—and events have demonstrated most vainly—flattered themselves, that all was settled, and that we had only to sit down in happy tranquillity by still waters. But who, after such a war of elements, could reasonably expect a dead calm imme-

diately to ensue? Certainly it has not. Rebellion may have been subdued; but the spirit of rebellion is not exorcised, nor, foul as it may be, is it likely soon to be driven out. Yet this painful suspense, this hope deferred and wofully disappointed, this placing at an indefinite distance the consummation of our fondest wishes for ourselves and our country's consolidation and welfare, — all these I fully believe to be fraught with real solid, lasting advantage. A space has thus been afforded for digging about and rendering more safe the foundations of our union and our liberties. Securities, which otherwise might have been overlooked and neglected, have been brought to view; and the whole fabric has been, or is in process of being, strengthened and beautified.

We come now, and after longer preliminaries, perhaps, than I ought to have indulged in, to the notice more particularly of those who gave themselves heart, soul, body, and estate, to their country's cause in her late extremity. All honor be paid to the thousands, hundreds of thousands, nay, millions, thus devoted and faithful! Not on the tented field only was such devotion shown, but at the fireside and in the family circle, made solitude by the absence of the dearly loved and how many lost! Heavy indeed were the burdens borne by multitudes, — pecuniarily burdensome, — but not to be mentioned in comparison with the load of care, anxiety, often despair, which weighed on the overburdened heart. Woman! how she loomed an angel of light amid the lowering clouds and the surrounding darkness! Florence Nightingales sprang up as by enchantment, and whether in hospital, camp, or the very field of battle, doing no dishonor to the name. Others there were, who in less exposed positions did good and not less material service. One I well know and delight to honor, — and so well known I need not name, — who, foregoing the charms of the most cultivated society, resigning the peace and domestic comfort so congenial to mature life, gave herself, her time, her labors and means, for four long years, wholly up to generous sympathy with, and supplying the needs of, patriot soldiers; so establishing a most desirable place, not

only in their hearts, but in that of this whole community. With such instances in view, well may we exclaim, —

“ In the great history of the land,
A noble type of good,
Heroic womanhood!”

Special honor ought we to give to them who, buckling on their armor, went forth to the fight, and bravely meeting the chances of war, yet survive to gladden our hearts by their presence. Let them be assured, that as live heroes they are not less honored than dead heroes. Gladly, honorably, with my deep reverence in which I am sure all around me will join, do we welcome their presence, as not that of the dead, but of the living, here to-day. And yet I am assured, that none more cordially join us in paying honors to the departed, in erecting and consecrating this memorial of their worth, this tribute to their precious memories. Much as we rejoice that your lives have been spared amid the perils through which in the mighty conflict they passed, scarcely less do we take joy and solace in the patriotic sympathy by which your tears are mingled with ours in these commemorative rites.

You of this town, who bared your breasts to all the dangers of the late tremendous conflict, and courageously rushed to the deadly breach, let me say here, showed yourselves worthy successors of those whose names, running through the long line of more than two centuries, have been distinguished in the defence of their homes, or their country and her liberties. It was in no aggressive spirit, no violent wresting from the aboriginal possessors, but by purchase mutually agreed to be just and equitable, that these fair and fertile vales and hills, these beautiful groves and woodlands, intersected as by silver threads with streams of living water, came into the possession of the first English settlers. They named it Lancaster, after the shire town of one of the largest and most opulent counties of England, remarkable for its beautiful and commanding position, in which, especially in its old cemetery, are found names, familiar here, that indicate not mere fancy, but native and dearly cherished associations in

the selection of the name. For years, this was a frontier settlement, of decided prominence for its position, and also for its extent; comprising as it did what with itself now includes the territory of nine different towns. At first all seemed peaceful and prosperous, and the surrounding tribe of savages of so gentle a nature as to be so only in name. But under King Philip's combinations, with his deadly determination to exterminate the whites, the scene was wholly changed. The population was thrown into garrisons, and the garrisons became centres of war and siege. In one attacked in February, 1676, were over fifty persons, nearly half of whom were killed, and the rest, with the first minister's wife, carried, with her dying child, into all but hopeless captivity, from which happily she was rescued. Your second minister, Whiting, was killed in conflict with Indians; and your third, by a sentry, mistaking him for an Indian foe; both falling and dying on the now attractive park of Colonel Fay. Strange, most unnatural, it seems, that the smoke and lurid clouds of battle should hover over, and the din of war be echoed from, the mild atmosphere of this peaceful and charming valley. Not only so, but hence have gone forth others, and not in defence of themselves alone, but for others' relief. Simon Willard, your own townsman, — whom I regard as among the magnates, the chiefs and leaders of the land, ancestor of two Presidents of Harvard College, and a posterity — in which is included Joseph Willard, your historian, and long your worthy fellow-citizen — of which any one might be proud; Major of Middlesex of which this was then a part, and holding a command in the militia second only to that of the chief executive, — sprang at the first call to the rescue of the beleaguered settlements on our Western border, and, though at the age of threescore and ten, effected their entire deliverance. In the subsequent wars with the French and Indians, the men of Lancaster bore their full part of duty and bravery. Among them was Colonel Abijah Willard, descendant of the first of that name just mentioned, who commanded a regiment in what has long been termed "the old French War;" himself honored for his public and private services, and followed by worthy rep-

representatives down to this time. An adjutant of his regiment was Samuel Ward, one of the most remarkable men, not of this place only, but of any place where his abode might have been fixed. Born in Worcester, he at the early — premature I should rather say — age of sixteen years, enlisted as a private in the army, and, before completing his twentieth year, rose to be adjutant. He was at the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point by the forces under General Amherst in 1759, and of *Isle aux Noix* and Montreal in 1760. Soon after the war, he came here, engaged in mercantile business, held various offices in town and State; and up to the last of his life, prolonged as it was to eighty-seven years, he was distinguished as a supporter of good institutions, for his acts of neighborly kindness and friendship, for a most liberal hospitality, and for a wit so ready and sparkling, a wisdom so keen and penetrating, a spirit so genial, diffusive, and magnetic, as to make his society ever welcome and a delight to young and old alike, and give life and soul to any circle in which he moved. Hardly can we, who knew him well, expect to see his like again.

A pleasant allusion of his to the early experience he had in war, here occurs to me. When the neighboring town of Fitchburg, whose respectable representation we gladly hail to-day, was a mere village in a narrow valley, overshadowed by surrounding lofty hills, he used to say that on entering it he felt that he had got into camp. This, of course, was before that now enterprising and prosperous town — availing of its central position, exacting tribute and profit from every drop of water in the north branch of the Nashua, which here is permitted to flow in comparative freedom and beauty; having no fear before its eyes of becoming a shire, with jails and convicts, and perhaps the multiplication of prosecutors and advocates, as our influential fathers of this place had when the same boon was offered to them; cherishing no feeble aspirations of being soon enrolled among the cities of the Commonwealth; and spreading itself in pride and glory over all the neighboring heights — had forfeited all title to the similitude, and as now viewed had taken from the playful allusion, just referred to, its point and jest.

As we come down to the times of the Revolution, we find a highly honorable record of the part taken in it by the citizens of this town. Heavy drafts were made upon them for men and money, which, almost without exception, were met with cheerful alacrity. During the protracted contest, all the able-bodied men either served in the field, or were represented by substitutes. A few there were who, impressed with the idea that the conflict was an unequal one and likely to prove disastrous to this side, either withdrew from the country, or else maintained, as far as was consistent with remaining in their homes, a cautious neutrality. With the greatest caution, however, and whatever the sacrifices which willingly or reluctantly they might make, those of a conservative cast were subjected to severe trials, and were obliged to encounter serious perils. "In June, 1777," says your historian, "Colonel Asa Whitcomb was, in pursuance of a resolve of the General Assembly, chosen to collect evidence against such persons as shall be deemed internal enemies to the State. The names of a number of citizens were placed on the list, as being of that description, which were afterwards stricken off. It is related of Rev. Mr. Harrington, that when his name was added to the list, the venerable and truly excellent man bared his breast before his people and exclaimed, 'Strike, strike here, with your daggers: I am a true friend to my country.' The passion for proscribing innocent persons soon subsided; calmer and more thorough investigation by the Committee of Safety was substituted; violence and riot were avoided; and the spirit of liberty proved to be deeply rooted, and widely extended."

One instance there was of shrinking from, or at least of hesitation to meet, the demands made for patriotic exertion and sacrifice. In June, 1780, a draft of forty men for six months' service was made upon the town. This was felt and openly declared by many stanch friends of independence and the Revolutionary cause, to be a demand and pressure beyond the point of endurance. At a town meeting called to deliberate upon it, Josiah Kendall, "a flaming patriot and whig leader," opened the discussion by distinctly advocating non-compliance,

were it only on the ground of absolute exhaustion of both men and means. In this position he was sustained by other speakers, all well known as ardent patriots, professing and claiming as well as himself to express the general sentiment of the loyal inhabitants. The apparently even tenor of the deliberations was suddenly broken by a voice, coming unexpectedly as could a clap of thunder in a bright summer's noon. That voice was from Samuel Ward, of whom just now I have spoken, who had fought bravely, successfully, and with merited distinction, in a former war, which was in fact the school in which many of the best officers and soldiers of the Revolution were trained, and whose courage, therefore, could not be questioned; who yet, amid the notes of preparation and in the early stages of the conflict, doubted our ability to cope with the vast power, naval and military, of the mother country; in which he coincided with not a few wise, good, and firm lovers and friends of our land, but for which his patriotism had come under the ban of suspicion and obloquy, and his name been inscribed even on the list of Tories, and foes of liberty and independence. Rising, with such antecedents and under such circumstances, amongst his assembled fellow-townsmen, thus abashed by the discouragement of their leaders, and their thoughts led to ponder on a "lost cause," he was too astute, too fertile in expedients, too conscious of discernment of governing motives, and tact in directing them, not to be fully sensible that his hour had come for doing good service immediately to the State, and incidentally for himself and his own vindication. The very words, in which the appeal he then made was couched, may not with perfect exactness have been preserved; but its tenor and substance have been faithfully transmitted, and may, though partially and imperfectly, be represented thus:—

‘Friends and fellow-citizens, we have arrived at a turning-point, a tremendous crisis, in the affairs of this town, in fact of our State and whole country. When the political leaders shrink from supporting the conflict, it would not be strange if their followers quailed and stood aghast. But I believe better things of you and the great body of my countrymen. If they

who assume to be leaders falter in patriotic determination and effort, others worthier and more resolute will be put in their stead. Just in proportion as they fall back, will the people come to the rescue, ready to contribute their last dollar, and perish in the last ditch. For after all, with the mass of the people, under God, rests the deciding of the mighty business we have in hand. Before we plunged into the surging waves of civil war, there was abundant room for doubts and hesitation, and I confess I was not without them. The time, however, for doubting has passed. Of this high and sacred cause may we say now, in the language used in relation to one yet higher and holier, He that doubteth is damned. True, we are in the midst of a sea red with blood; but the only opening of escape from it which I can discern, is by forward, not retreating, steps. We are in for and fully committed to the fight, and base subjection is the only alternative to fighting it through. Shall it be, can it be, that all the blood and treasure, poured out like water in these five long years of deadly struggle, have been expended for naught, and vastly worse than naught? But they will not have been in vain, or worse than vain. Through the thick gloom on either side and before us, I see blessed rays of light and hope. The sympathy of foreign nations, especially the powerful French nation, is lending us practical and essential aid. Our forces on land and sea, the soldiers and officers of our armies, — under their wise, prudent, virtuous, and valiant chief, yet to be hailed as the saviour of his country, — have shown a power of enduring privation and hardship, a skill, bravery, and valor, and devotion to the support of our liberties, which I cannot doubt the God of battles, of the free and the enslaved alike, will crown with final and triumphant success.

‘Above all, the heart, the soul, the nerve of the people must, under an overruling Providence, be our principal defence and ground of reliance. Far, very far, were their fortitude in bearing the heavy burdens, truly grievous to be borne, which this war has imposed on them, — their courage to meet the inevitable trials and sacrifices to which by it they have been subjected, — their resources, mental, moral, and physical, which in its course

have been developed,—from being imagined in the outset. Even now, after the extended and trying experience through which we have passed, scarcely are imagined, still less fully understood, the vital force and reserved power for future exigencies residing in and forming a basis of permanent and strong confidence in the mass of the people. As one of them, and rather than that this requisition should not to the letter be met and answered, I solemnly declare on this spot and before this assembly, that my old and rusty armor, which has seen no small and some pretty hard service in the campaigns of a former war, shall be reproduced and buckled on again; and I will be enrolled and mustered among the men required by this immediate and pressing need of the country.’

Following up this appeal by a carefully prepared plan, which Ward presented to the meeting, he showed conclusively that the requisition might and ought to be complied with, and carried it by an overwhelming majority, almost by acclamation. Great enthusiasm was excited throughout the town, and no exertions were spared to accomplish the object of the plan adopted. Recruits in goodly numbers were readily obtained, most of them, no doubt, inspired by self-devotion and love of country. One of them there was, of whom not quite as much could be affirmed, who could hardly be said to have had a single eye to his country’s good. It seems that he was possessed with a longing desire to acquire a lot of land constituting an important part of Deacon Moore’s farm, and insisted, as a condition of his enlisting, on having that, though it was much more in value than the amount generally paid. “Take it,” replied the deacon: “I had rather part with that land, which is the best I have, than lose the whole by my neglect in aiding the cause of my country.” Whether the soldier returned to possess and enjoy the recompense he demanded, or fell a victim of the war, does not appear, and may not admit of being learned. If the latter were the case, and known so to have been, we might be excused, should our sympathies be not quite as deeply moved by his fate as they might have been, had he been less grasping and exacting. At any rate, in one way or another, or in many ways, the

forty men required were enlisted, paid, and on their march to headquarters, within twelve days. Patriotism thus, then and here, gloriously triumphed. Not less complete was Ward's triumph over prejudice and threatened, if not actual, molestation. From what, in my younger days, I heard from the lips of aged men who were present in the assembly, — the deliberations, doings, and results of which I have just faintly sketched, — and variously otherwise have been informed, I am convinced that never, in all democracies, little or great, from those of Greece and Rome down to our own time, did a popular orator exercise a more skilful and absolute sway over a deliberative assembly than he did on that occasion. During the remaining years of the war, and ever afterward, as we may readily suppose, neither his loyalty was impeached, nor his political orthodoxy questioned, nor were his person and property thereby endangered.

Following close upon the termination of the Revolutionary struggle, were serious embarrassments and commotions. Public indebtedness, accumulated through the war, pressed heavily on the Confederacy, and the States of which it was composed. Private debtors and creditors were intermingled in seemingly hopeless and inextricable confusion. The general government, unable to discharge its own pecuniary obligations, was poorly situated for compelling the liquidation of others, in fact was wholly powerless so to do. Little if any better was the condition of the several States included under it. Their courts might decree justice and demand payment; but what did the decree or demand in effect amount to, where there was nothing to pay with, under a currency depreciated so as to be almost valueless, business of nearly all kinds sadly deranged and at a stand, and the resources for payment either tied up or entirely exhausted? What but irritations between individuals and among communities, general uneasiness and disloyalty toward the civil authorities, and opposition, even to the extreme of determination on their overthrow, to the courts themselves? At length, in 1786, only three years after the close of the war, these difficulties and disturbing causes culminated in downright

rebellion here in our own State. Shays's Rebellion, to which I refer, — so called after the name of the military commander at the head of it, — marks a most eventful crisis in our country's history. Even now, with all the light shed upon it by contemporaneous and subsequent accounts, I doubt very much whether its interest and importance, and the bearings it had on our civil institutions, their establishment, progress, and beneficial results, have been duly appreciated. Occurring as it did in Massachusetts, the head and front of resistance to British domination, which had commenced and taken the lead in carrying to a successful issue the Revolution, it spread dismay among the friends of order and good government, not only here, but throughout the country. They felt, not unnaturally, that if the demon of anarchy, wild, consuming, destructive of all hopes of rational and well-guarded liberty, had taken possession of this old Pillar State, then might the advocates and supporters of republican freedom and union resign themselves to bitter disappointment, and fold their arms in utter despair. But it was not so to be. Our beloved Commonwealth, though shaken and tried, was not to be rent and shattered. Pioneer as she had been in liberty's cause, she was not to prove herself unworthy of that rank and title. Under the wise, virtuous, and energetic Bowdoin, her chief magistrate, was promptly organized in the eastern and more populous section of the State an overwhelming military force, which, placed under command of General Lincoln, — whose practical wisdom, tried gallantry and skill, weight of character, and magnanimous spirit singularly fitted him to subdue, to negotiate with, and conciliate, the disaffected, — at once marched into Western Massachusetts, where the rebellion had its seat, and soon effected its suppression. Quite a number from this town joined Lincoln's army, and served faithfully and bravely in it, which was the more creditable, from their vicinity to the infected district, and their additional exposure to contracting thence a taint of disloyalty. Though the rebellion had been thus subdued and had subsided, not so was it with the fears it had excited in the public mind. It had struck a chord of intense alarm, that vibrated far and wide and

long. Its lessons had sunk deep into the minds and hearts of the most thoughtful and discerning patriots throughout the country. That they were received and comprehended in their full force and meaning in our own State, where they had more immediately been taught, is indicated by the fact, that a citizen of it ("one Nathan Dane," as he was sneeringly styled by Hayne in his great debate with and defeat by Webster), being chairman of a committee of the old Congress, the year following, reported in favor of assembling the Convention by which the Federal Constitution was framed. Through those teachings, in no small part, were leading men all over the land made to realize the loose, broken, chaotic state in which the Revolution had left it; to feel the absolute need of a central power, which, while sustained and deriving strength from the several divided and limited sovereignties, should with proper restrictions impart vigor and extend its sway to them all,—the need of a supreme law of political gravitation, embracing within its reach and control all the individuals and people of the nation, that should, keeping the respective States in their appointed orbits, preserve them from being by internal dissensions rent asunder and scattered into innumerable fragments, make them at peace with each other, and, while independent each in its appropriate sphere, maintain them in constituted harmony with and obedience to the general government. We—I so speak, for here I feel that we and you are convertible terms—may justly felicitate ourselves, that the people of this town, amid the difficulties and agitations of those trying six years which elapsed between the close of the war and the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, were thoroughly loyal to the cause of order and law. They cheerfully and fully met the demands made on them for military aid in its support. And none, more cordially than they, welcomed and sustained the new Constitution, as it went into operation under the guiding hand of Washington,—which almost at the outset showed itself sufficiently strong to suppress a formidable insurrection in Pennsylvania, and has of late, in addition to all the intermediate and other blessings it has richly bestowed, proved adequate to scat-

ter clouds of civil war as dense and dark, and suppressing a rebellion as mighty as — deemed by many not without reason the mightiest — the world ever saw.

Coming down to the last war with Great Britain, — may it ever be the last, — that of 1812–15, we find an honorable record of the self-sacrificing patriotism of the inhabitants of this place. Throughout its continuance, the heavy burdens borne, the contributions exacted, the privations inevitable and bitter, the losses and sorrows necessarily incurred, were here submitted to, with more than resignation, rather with the heroic determination to meet and bear all of them and, if need were, much more, — a resolution sustained and fortified by trust in God, and inspired, fired with ardent love of country. At the call for troops from this and the neighboring towns to defend the capital of our State from threatened invasion, the summons was responded to with alacrity. Individuals there were who from time to time offered themselves to serve in the field; some of whom rose to high and merited distinction. Among such whom I recall to fresh recollection were Generals Henry and Fabius Whiting, — brothers, not more by birth, than in the soul of honor, courage, and patriotic devotion. Of them might we truly say, *Ambo ornati, literati, et digniores*, with the free rendering; both highly accomplished, of large and varied literary and scientific culture, and to be counted with the worthier and best members of society. I vividly remember the admiration, amounting to something very like reverence, with which in my early boyhood I looked upon them, when amid lulls in the storm of war they returned to visit this their native home. Having escaped unharmed from the perils of warfare, in the midst of which they had been brave and faithful, they were long spared to serve their country in their chosen profession, — which they adorned and exalted, — to which, while true to all other claims, private, social, and public, they to the end of their lives remained devoted. Another name I will venture to mention, even at the risk of trespassing on the rights and feelings of the living; and I am sure, if it be a trespass, this whole assembly will bear me out in it, and will heartily

agree in wishing that he who bears that name may long yet live to be a blessing and ornament to our community. I refer, it is perhaps needless to say, to Colonel Thomas Aspinwall. Though Lancaster cannot claim him as native-born, she can advance a claim which he would be the last to dispute, that of having furnished him with his better half. Some of you, at least, will recollect with me his return from the fields of battle, when, bereft of a trusty arm, he bore himself, as he has ever since, with a manliness and fortitude which seemed to turn the loss into a grace and glory, rather than a bereavement; and many there are present who have followed with approval and pride his subsequent career in long upholding the honor and interests of our country as its Consul-General in London, and have accompanied him to the shades of more retired life with their sincere respect and affection.

Passing by other wars, such as those with the Indians and Mexico, in which natives or citizens of this place served and bore an honorable part, I come to speak more particularly of the share taken and service rendered by the town in our late tremendous civil strife. Its women, — God ever and most richly bless them! — soon as the contest was fairly begun, with womanly intuition seized upon and comprehended the chief points at issue. Forthwith they armed themselves, if not in the panoply of war, yet in a spirit to labor and suffer, to supply the wants, relieve the sufferings, and courageously, with unshrinking fortitude, meet and bear the trials and sacrifices, which war — and such a war — must necessarily occasion. Through the four weary years of warfare, they never tired in all but angelic ministrations to alleviate its horrors and calamities. And I am sure they will not — and who among us without a heart of stone could? — cease or tire, in relation to those who have come forth from it, to bind up the wounded, to be eyes to the blind and feet to the maimed, and liberally supply the needs of them by whose wounds our bleeding country has been healed and saved; and yet more, to most tenderly care for and cherish the widow and orphan who mourn for husband and father left behind and never to return. That the men who remained at home were not idle

or indifferent in the cause, is shown by their raising large sums of money, and contributing nearly two hundred recruits for the service, who were equivalent in number to not far from a tenth part of the whole population of the town. Of all the sons it sent forth, I find no record which is not to their credit for bravery and faithful discharge of duty. That they did not shrink from danger, and were often in the thickest of the fight, we have painful yet glorious evidence in the thirty-nine names inscribed on that memorial tablet. Well and most appropriate is it, that the names of your fallen heroes should be imprinted within the building erected to their memory, away from the conflict and marring of the elements, apart from the disturbing or contaminating influences of the outer world, in the innermost shrine of the temple designed to commemorate their worth even as they are enshrined in the deepest recesses of our hearts. As I reviewed the list of persons, with the ages attached to them, I was impressed strongly with the thought, that it was not the miserable remnant of an eked-out existence on earth, but the flower and prime of their lives, that they had consecrated to their country's salvation, and for that noble end had freely laid them down. Most of them were under thirty years of age, some even under twenty, and but two exceeding forty years. Among them were the highly educated and refined who here, as elsewhere was so extensively done, resigned homes of luxury and comfort and happiness, abandoned for the time bright prospects of worldly advancement, went forth to encounter hardships, privations, and dangers untold and not fully to be described, and finally surrendered all that was dear in earthly enjoyment or anticipation, with their lives. It was a striking coincidence in the case of one such, General Francis Washburn,—who, when enlisting at the commencement of hostilities, being asked for what length of time he had enlisted, promptly replied, "For the war,"—that, though he had lost a beloved brother in the service, he persevered in it, was in the battle at High Bridge, the last of the struggle, in which Lee's army was so intercepted on its retreat from Richmond, and so reduced in force as to be compelled quickly to capitulate; was

in that distinguished for such gallantry and ability, that he was promoted from the rank of colonel to that of brigadier-general on the spot ; and there, sad to relate, when the war for the whole of which this then very young man had engaged, and in which he had attained such high distinction, was about being closed, he received his death-wound, and survived not many days.

Many tears will be shed, and will long continue to flow, not only from eyes of love, of kindred, friends, and acquaintance, but also of strangers even, while going over that lengthened roll of the martyred young and brave. Sorely grievous was and still is their loss. Heart-rending to no few of us have been, and while we live always must be, thoughts of the agony and horrors through which they passed, and which they endured unto death, a cruel death. But mingled with the bitter draught, of which they and we were made to partake, were rich, sustaining, blessed solace and hope. What though some of them lie buried far away, or even were denied the rites of sepulture? We may take to ourselves the consolation suggested by the Athenian orator, Pericles, who, in speaking of the heroes who fell in the Peloponnesian War, said, "The whole earth is the sepulchre of illustrious men." And surely they are illustrious, whatever the rank or sphere in which they may have toiled and suffered, who, like these our friends, at their country's call and in the hour of her extreme peril, sprang forward, risked their lives, and gave them up in her cause. If we cannot strew flowers over their actual graves, we can, in imagination bordering closely on reality, weave garlands of forget-me-nots, of laurel, of tender remembrance and loving admiration, that shall reach and mark and chastely decorate any spots, however distant or secluded, where the remains of our beloved heroic defenders repose. We have, too, the consolatory reflection, that they did not fight or bleed or die in vain ; that they contributed a part, and a noble one, toward preserving the Union, securing and enlarging our liberties, and establishing on broad and firm foundations our permanent national prosperity. So far, indeed, as resort to the arbitrament of arms was inevitable, we may concede to the

vanquished the benefit of this soothing consideration, since we earnestly desire and hope that they may participate largely with the victors in the good to be derived from the victory and its grand results. Neither are we to regard or think of these our friends, townsmen, countrymen, and patriots whom we here commemorate, as lost or dead. Lost they are to our mortal vision. Dead are they to the fleeting pleasures and interests of time and earth, — cognizant though it may be of more than even our Christian philosophy dreams of, and watching over the progress of the holy cause of Union and Freedom for which they died. Besides the higher and heavenly life on which we trust they have entered, beyond the reach of alarm, discord, and conflict, and where the sounds of war with its deadly strife are heard and known no more, they still live on earth, and, as far as can be predicated of any thing or being, shall in this world be invested with immortality. Their memory will be embalmed in the record of the historic page, and preserved fragrant and blessed so long as that shall last. They will live in the reverence, affection, and gratitude of multitudes of hearts living and yet to live. Ingenuous youth and maturer age will alike look up to them as living exemplars of patriotic courage, valor, and self-sacrifice. In the very names here inscribed they will live, and, long as the inscription shall endure, will they impart fresh and strong inspirations of true love of liberty and patriotism. Should any who read them be tempted to swerve from the strict line of patriotic integrity, to plot against the union and freedom of the Republic, and meditate involving it in anarchy, distraction, and ruin, hardly could we wonder or deem a miracle to be wrought, were the stones on which this building is reared to cry out, and that cold marble suddenly to glow with fervent heat, and the names written thereon changed to speaking tongues of fire, in rebuke of such disloyalty and treason, such ingratitude and demoralization, not only social and civil, but of soul.

You, my friends, have contributed to swell this moral power, I might almost say, to bring back the dead, to prolong their existence and salutary agency, by this memorial edifice, the

completion of which we are celebrating. Here you have set up a remembrancer of them which will not, cannot fail, till the brick and stone and marble of which it is composed crumble to dust. Here they, for their worthy and glorious deeds, are placed side by side with, and share the immortality of, those who by their writings have been made, so far as on earth they could be, immortal. Here they are linked inseparably with a great and good object and work, in which the *dulce et utile* are admirably mingled, the tender and affecting in sentiment and memory that "smells sweet and blossoms in the dust," with meeting the pressing and sacred demands of a high utility. And what higher usefulness could we propose to ourselves than to enlighten, enlarge, fructify, and imbue with just, generous, and elevated sentiments and aspirations our own and others' minds? Such is the purpose which wisely and well you have connected with the commemoration of your heroic dead; and certain I am, that, if bending now from their seats of bliss and glory in cognizance of things below, they look on this scene with approving smiles and added happiness, not more for the honors bestowed on them than for the excellent ends with which those tributes to their valor and worth are associated, and are evermore to be intertwined.

What are those ends, and how may they most effectually be promoted? Their direct and chief design is to furnish suitable books for reading to persons of all classes, the more or less informed, and of whatever age, within the limits of the town. Included in them is the idea, that education in the broadest sense is never finished, is always beginning and never ending; never ended in heaven itself, and therefore clearly not to be confined in its scope to them who are in their teens, or them approaching life's meridian, in full career after its possessions not always gained, its joys oft missed or blighted, or those, even, who, with wings half-folded and drooping, are on their descent into the quiet vale of years; but to be extended to and embrace all of every age and condition. A nobly wise and munificent illustration of that grand idea is afforded in the metropolis of our own State. There the child of the humblest abode and

scantiest means is taken by public provision as in parental arms, and carried through the primary, the grammar, the English high, or the Latin schools, till he has acquired as good a preparation for pursuing the common business of life, or entering on a collegiate course, as could elsewhere be obtained. Then there is the Public Library, originally selected and arranged, and long watched over with loving care, by some of the first scholars of the land, among whom were Edward Everett and George Ticknor; which, with its spacious and delightfully furnished reading-room, is open to all the inhabitants of the city indiscriminately, who would avail themselves of its advantages; the only condition or requirement being compliance with the rules necessary for its safety, preservation, and greatest usefulness. There is the Athenæum, whose library exceeds, as does the one just mentioned, very considerably, a hundred thousand volumes; which, though incorporated and owned by individual proprietors, is yet, through its liberal arrangements, virtually a public institution, — in whose privileges and treasures of literature and art, ancient and modern, a large proportion of the people of the vicinity, as well as of the city itself, are favored with the opportunity of sharing. Next comes the Lowell Institute, founded and most amply endowed by one whose honored name it bears; in which lectures on a great variety of subjects — embracing science, theology, law, history, geography, travels, the arts, whatever, in short, may justly be of temporary or permanent interest to the popular or more cultivated mind — are given gratuitously to all of the citizens, without distinction of persons, who after due notice seasonably apply for admission to them. Then there are the Institutions of Natural History and Technology, the doors of which are thrown wide open to the public for observation and inquiry, and which to any desirous of pursuing courses of study in them are brought within the compass of their ability. To crown all, there is Harvard University, which — though numbered among American colleges, and foremost among them all by age, endowment, extensive and varied culture — is, in view of the quarter from which its resources have been derived, and its prosperity mainly sustained and

carried forward, after all, a Boston institution; from which, I feel sure, no son of hers, truly loving and worthily seeking after knowledge, however restricted in pecuniary means, will for want of support be turned away. Let me here, by the way, note the fact, — for it is a noticeable one, — that of the four largest, and much the largest, libraries in the United States, three of them are located within an extent of only three miles, — two, the Public and Athenæum in Boston proper, and the Harvard in its immediate neighborhood; the fourth being the Astor Library of New York. From this simple statement, I trust it will appear not to savor of undue assumption, if the assertion be hazarded, that in no city of this or any other country is education in its most enlarged signification as relating to and essentially concerning all the people, more highly regarded or more liberally provided for than in the chief one of our State.

The Commonwealth has not been unmindful of this extended interest, or been slow to spread over it the shield of her protecting and fostering care. Having at a very early period in her existence placed the village school-house by the side of the village church, and from time to time passed laws to insure the intellectual and moral training of all her children, and having in later years invested one of her most intelligent and influential Boards with the duty of seeing those laws thoroughly executed, she, in 1851, authorized the towns to appropriate a sum equal to one dollar for each ratable poll, for establishing a public library, and a quarter of a dollar for every poll annually toward its support and increase. This last proportional amount was, not long after, doubled; and two years since, all restriction on appropriations for the object was removed, and the whole matter was left to the discretion of the several towns and cities. So that, as the law now stands, “any town may at a legal meeting grant and vote money for the establishment, maintenance, or increase of a public library therein, and for erecting or providing suitable buildings or rooms therefor, and may receive, hold, and manage any devise, bequest, or donation for those purposes.” By a law of 1867, it was “resolved that, after the current year, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Com-

monwealth to furnish each public library, organized under the laws of this State, on the application of the librarian thereof, with the annual reports, described in the General Statutes as the public series ;” thus wisely and beneficially providing, that the citizens generally should be well informed in regard to whatever concerns the common weal, — to which phrase the term Commonwealth, as designating the whole State, has an affinity in both sound and substantial meaning, and from which it may naturally have been derived. Another enactment, passed in the same year, I will not omit to mention ; giving it in the exact words of the statute, and at the same time commending it to the respectful, prudent, nay, more, magnanimous, consideration of youths, and their elders too, here or elsewhere : “ Whoever wilfully and maliciously writes upon, injures, defaces, tears, or destroys any book, picture, engraving, or statue belonging to any law, town, city, or other public library, shall be punished by a fine of not less than five dollars, nor more than one thousand dollars, for every such offence.”

Under these laws, authorized and encouraged by them, many of our towns have at different times, and in a steadily increasing number, established the institutions they were designed to foster. So that now the public library takes rank among our established institutions, and the constituted means of our intellectual, social, and moral development. This which we now welcome to its new building, to enlarged and elegant accommodations, under circumstances and with associations so solemn and touching, was founded in 1862, and has already accumulated several thousand volumes, with a prospect of rapid increase ; while, in kindred establishments throughout the State, the number of volumes collected cannot fall far if any short of half a million. When to this vast instrumentality for diffusing knowledge among the people, we add the nearly if not quite a million volumes more in social, literary, scientific, and professional libraries, — to say nothing of the extensive ones strictly private, — we may take to ourselves new courage in the hope and trust, that good old Massachusetts is not falling and will not fall behind in the march of real and noble progress. With such means in opera-

tion, and ever cumulative, intellect will here be more and more disciplined, receive new impulses, make continual advance, —

“And souls be ripened in our northern sky.”

Thus, though our climate be cold and bleak, our soil sterile, and our natural exports limited to granite and ice, and in regard to temperature, fertility, and central position we be far less favored than others or most of our sister States, yet here will mind grow with what it feeds on, genius be awakened and kindled by the air which surrounds it, invention be quickened and informed and made triumphant, a wide, generous, elevated culture, physical, mental, and moral, be attained. Whether minds so nurtured and cultivated remain with us, or go forth to other more inviting and genial climes, they exert an immense and most salutary influence, with which all fertility of soil, or geniality of atmosphere, or advantages of position, are not for a moment to be compared. Wherever they may be, in the great family of these conjoined States, or in the still greater family of the earth's nations, they will add to the renown and enhance the glory of the parent who gave them birth and nourished them; for whom it may without extravagance be claimed, that, while yet not two centuries and a half old, no State of equal duration, extent, and numbers, in all modern experience, has exercised the sway she has over the fortunes of her own and other countries of the world.

How now shall this great institution, the public provision of books for reading, be made most effective in advancing the good of the State, of society, and the individuals composing it? To this inquiry the first answer I have to offer is, that its management should be placed in the most capable hands, be they of men or women, or both together, that can be commanded. This important trust should be as far as possible committed only to those who, by their cast of mind, their habits and pursuits, and, not least, a deep sense of its responsibility, are best qualified for its discharge. If, according to the well-known saying, the composing of the songs of a nation imply more power than the framing of its laws, certainly not less, rather I should say much more, powerful is their agency to whom, in

this reading age, and especially this community of readers, is confided in large degree a control over this mighty engine of good or ill, of weal or woe. Choose you, I would say with a redoubled emphasis, but very imperfectly expressing my feeling of the immense and all-concerning consequence of this interest, choose for its supervisors persons of tried fidelity, of extensive acquaintance with books and their adaptation to the wants of the minds that shall read them; who, when those of pernicious tendency are demanded, shall have the decision and moral courage to say No; who, rising superior to all demarcations and trammels of party or sect, shall exercise an enlarged liberality, and encourage the most impartial inquiry into debatable subjects, the most thorough search after all knowledge; who, in short, in all the regulations and details of the institution, particularly in the selection of books and other materials for reading and information, will pay implicit deference to certain fundamental principles by which I conceive all acting in that official capacity should uniformly be governed.

What are those principles, or the chief among them? The first I would mention is an inviolable regard for truth. Not truth in the abstract or concrete, or as we understand it. Though frequently issue from the press, works which so palpably violate the apparent fitness of things, the constitution of the universe, the relations of society, and man's best good, that the purveyors of the intellectual food of the community might, justifiably and without undue stretch of authority, cast them out as birds of ill-omen, spirits of evil, working that and nothing else, still let there be a generous confidence in the truth, in its power and ultimate prevalence. Trite as may be the saying, Truth is mighty and must prevail, it yet has upon it a stamp of divinity. I believe it, as I believe in the God of all and perfect truth. Cast down at times it may be, and trodden in the dust; but, in the soul-stirring language of our charming veteran poet, Bryant, —

“ Truth crushed to earth shall rise again :
The eternal years of God are hers ;
But Error, wounded, writhes with pain,
And dies among his worshippers.”

Still we must not shut our eyes to the tremendous opposition truth has to encounter. Prejudice, passion, dread of innovation, pride of opinion, love of power, the spirit of secular and spiritual domination, always have conspired, and it may be will persevere to the end in conspiring, against her steady and equable progress.

No few — their name is legion — have there been and are now, who would have her walk in leading-strings, with their own mark on her forehead, a collar of their fashion and label on her neck, and bound hand and foot with chains and shackles of their forging. They have seized on the press as her handmaid, — not always wise, discreet, or chaste, but often false and wicked, it must be confessed, — and have sought to put the latter under corresponding bonds. Among the first to resort to such expedients was the Romish Church. About the year 1550, having previously at different times and in numerous instances prohibited the reading of certain books, the Papal government issued the *Index Expurgatorius* containing a list of them, which has since been extended as circumstances seemed to demand. To such an extent has it been enlarged, that we may, without fear of contradiction, assert that scarcely a really valuable work on science and philosophy, morals and religion, or any other field of thought, where heresy might be avowed or suspected, has not come under its ban. Restriction and prohibition, however, on this point, have not by any means been confined to the Roman Index, or its authors, or the people over whom they had a controlling influence. “Even in Protestant countries, overseers have been appointed by law to peruse all writings intended for the public, and with authority to license or suppress, as they should think proper. Such a body of licensers existed, and exercised their powers in England, till a century and a half ago, when it was abolished by Act of Parliament. At present, although any person in that kingdom may print what he pleases, he is liable to punishment if the book is found to contain sentiments which the law pronounces to be pernicious.” Our own country cannot claim immunity from the charge of having infringed on the domain and rights of a free

press. Printing, from its first introduction here, was watched over with a lynx-eyed surveillance, arising in part from habits and associations formed and nurtured in the mother-land, and in no small measure from jealous guard of the principles and institutions, civil and religious, with which our ancestors had entered on a new and untried career of duty and conflict, and of which they were resolutely bent on making in this Western World full experiment. And it was not mere watching, but positive action and direct interposition, with pains and penalties annexed, that awaited wanderers or any suspected of straying from the true fold, and any in particular who were deemed to convert the blessed art of printing — the art preservative of all arts — into an instrument for propagating error, and therefore no better than a device of Satan himself. Let me cite, for instance, the case of William Pynchon, the first settler of Springfield, and father of Western Massachusetts. When the colonial charter was about being transferred hither and to be here administered, he was one of the patentees, received his appointment as magistrate and assistant at the time the other officers were appointed, and came over with Governor Winthrop and his company in 1630. That year he commenced the settlement of Roxbury. There he remained till 1635; when, from the glowing accounts he obtained of the Connecticut-River valley, of its fertility and beauty, which made it even then as now to be regarded the garden and Eden of New England, he proceeded thither and fixed on Agawam — then so called, but soon after named Springfield for a town in Essex, England, where Pynchon had a mansion — as his future residence. Having completed his arrangements, and been joined by a goodly number of colonists, he the following year established the settlement of that prosperous and charming town. Here, in this fertile vale, this land all but literally flowing with milk and honey, and yielding spontaneously as it were corn and bread and the fruit of the vine, he, with his co-settlers, lived and flourished in peace and great prosperity; being himself respected highly for his abilities, his moral and religious worth, and looked to and revered by those around him as their patriarchal head. This

golden period lasted for some fourteen years, when, in an evil hour, at least for his own peace and comfort, he was prompted to publish a treatise entitled "The Meritorious Price of Man's Redemption," in opposition to the then-prevailing views of the atonement. For this heinous offence, or what was deemed such, he was cited before the General Court, laid under heavy bonds, visited at length with its censure, and compelled to relinquish the magistracy. A compromise was subsequently effected, by which the obnoxious sentiments were retracted, and the censure of the Court was withdrawn. But such was the dissatisfaction, disgust it may have been, with which these proceedings had affected Pynchon's mind, that he departed for England, never to return; concluding possibly with another, that the tyranny of the lords bishops was more endurable than that of the lords brethren. To this instance allow me to add one more. Richard Pierce, in 1690, worked off on his hand-press the first newspaper published in America. This the General Court took into custody, held solemn debate over its contents and the daring disturbance of the public peace, together with all the evils it involved and portended, and finally voted, that, as it "contained reflections of a very high nature," it was contrary to law, and to be suppressed. If the spirit of this first American martyr to news-printing be permitted now to walk the earth, he may be pardoned for no little self-glorying at seeing how prolific the seed of his martyrdom has been, the multitude of his progeny among us having come to be almost beyond numbering. Though some descent from his spiritual exaltation, and an essential abatement from his glorification, may be imagined, when we consider that, while he was obliged to taste the bitter fruits of bigotry and persecution, the saying held true, that the fathers ate sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge; judging from the acerbity of spirit manifested by many of our news-journals, both secular and religious so called,—he must conclude, that the teeth of these his descendants were set on edge, nay, sharpened to bite and devour not only one another, but any who might be so unfortunate as to come within reach of their belligerent and voracious propensities. Might he not

also apprehend that no small proportion of them, if arraigned before the General Court or the regular courts of justice, would be compelled to plead to an indictment just the opposite of that on which he was convicted and condemned, namely, that their sheets "contained reflections" of a very low, rather than "of a very high, nature"?

Notwithstanding the restrictions to which it has been subjected, and the abuses and corruptions ingrafted upon it, the press, within the few centuries of its existence, has come to be a chief power in the world, and a source of incalculable good. Who will undertake to enumerate its benefits, or measure the extent of its influence? Worthily to employ it is the fulfilment, intellectually, of the command from the voice of God in the morn of creation, which with equal appropriateness and felicity is inscribed on the tomb of Guttenberg, its great and immortal inventor,—"Let there be light." Its productions are spread far and wide by land and by sea. Its leaves are borne on all the winds of heaven, and bear, not light, knowledge, only, but healing, peace, joy, renovating and saving energies to all nations. Sure as the voyager is to spread his sails and launch upon the waves, are they to accompany him on his voyage, whether bound to the nearest port, or on the circuit of the globe. Be it in the cottage or the palace, in the crowded city or the distant solitude, there they go, and there they are, to enlighten and cheer and solace. What a blessed ministry did they fulfil amid the horrors, privations, and sufferings of our late civil war! Some of the most gifted pens, the wisest minds and truest hearts, sent forth of their abundant treasures books and tracts, by which to uphold and strengthen, and, it might be, gladden, the soldier, who had staked his all for Union and Liberty. I fancy now, that I see him hailing one of these flying messengers, with a welcome next only to that with which tidings from his dearly loved and longed-for home would be received; and whether by the pine torch, or the struggling moonbeams, or the noonday's sun, drinking in rays of wisdom and comfort, amid the rugged wilds through which he was passing, from the best teachings of this world, and yet

more from the world in which there is no need of sun or moon, and in which earth's brightest light is melted and lost in the divine effulgence.

So numerous — rather it should be said so innumerable — are the productions of the press, and such their world-wide diffusion, that we could scarcely conceive them to be blotted out or destroyed, except by a convulsion or conflagration by which the earth itself should be annihilated. What folly, then, to think of confining this mighty agent, and yet more, the truth of which it claims to be the great medium and expositor to the world, by the poor weak withes of man's weaving! Why, it is like attempting to bind the sea in chains. And the inexpediency and injury are yet greater and far more serious than the folly of so doing. Says Milton, whose marvellous genius is hardly less resplendent in prose than in poetry, "If it come to prohibiting, there is not aught more likely to be prohibited than truth itself; whose first appearance to our eyes, bleared and dimmed with prejudice and custom, is more unsightly and unpalatable than many errors; even as the person is of many a great man slight and contemptible to see to. If the men be erroneous who appear to be the leading schismatics, what withholds us but our sloth, our self-will, and distrust in the right cause, that we do not give them gentle meetings and gentle dismissions; that we debate not and examine the matter thoroughly, with liberal and frequent audience, if not for their sakes, yet for our own? Seeing no man who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world. And were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armory of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away." Yes: our trust in truth and her innate force must be implicit and entire, as our loyalty to her should be unwavering and complete. She has no need of bolts and bars, framed by councils or law-makers or tyrants of any kind, to guard against and effectually resist the assaults of error. Give her but a fair field, and she is omnip-

otent, whether in defence against or assailing her adversaries. No greater mistake has in times past been made, and even now is entertained, than to suppose that truth cannot stand or walk alone, but is so weak and frail that she must borrow such poor crutches and wretched safeguards as may be furnished by erring and more or less ignorant men. With her good right arm bearing aloft the sword of her own spirit, and upheld by the powers of reason, justice, humanity, and the reverence and love of her followers; in her left hand the torch all radiant with her blessed light, — we may rest assured, that she will prove abundantly competent to fight her own battles, win her own laurels, while torches unnumbered and numberless shall be kindled at hers, and cause her sacred flame to penetrate the remotest ends of the earth and be universally diffused. Closely allied to the claim of free course for truth, is the right of impartial, unfettered investigation, of independent forming and holding of opinions. Let this right be sacredly protected, for all young or old who shall come hither to drink of the fountains of knowledge. It has been well, as truly, said, “The man who gives up his independence of thought and opinion is manacled, and will be a prisoner as long as he lives. In short, he is to his respective judges just what Sancho was to Don Quixote; fully persuaded of enchantments, giants, and adventures, which their masters dream of.” My friends, I indulge the hope, and I am persuaded it is not a vain one, that many of this generation, and still more of the generations to follow, will come up to this as a consecrated place, where they may adopt or renew vows of fealty to the truth, resolved to follow whithersoever her steps shall lead, and determined to the utmost of their ability to seek and maintain, as the language of our civil oath expresses it, the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

Besides, in conducting an institution like this, and in order to its best efficiency, a watchful eye should be had to the substantial. Constant and thorough discrimination should be exercised in selecting and procuring works of solid value, either for the information they impart, or the thoughts they suggest, or the mental discipline they produce, for some or all of these

qualities. One of the best thinkers and scholars of our country remarked, that the minds he found most difficulty in grappling with, were the one-book men; by which he meant those who had confined their attention principally to a few standard works, till they had become familiar with and mastered their contents. Not that I would advocate the total exclusion from your library of fiction and poetry, of the light, facetious, and entertaining. By flashing meteor-like across the literary firmament, they may afford an occasional and needed diversion to the eye and the mind, weary with gazing at the fixed stars. Still substance, not surface; the solid cube, not the superficial square; quality, not quantity; the amount digested, rather than the space gone over; not the number of books read, but the knowledge and improvement derived from them, — it is, which is to be kept chiefly and steadily in view by readers and those by whom their intellectual food is provided. Never was this caution so important to be heeded as in this age and at the present time. So well, with such force and point, has it been set forth and illustrated, in its application both to authors and readers, by John Stuart Mill, that I am induced to quote him somewhat at length. “This is a reading age; and, precisely because it is so reading an age, any book which is the result of profound meditation is perhaps less likely to be duly and profitably read than at any other former period. The world reads too much and too quickly to read well. When books were few, to get through one was a work of time and labor; what was written with thought was read with thought, and with a desire to extract from it as much of the materials of knowledge as possible. But when almost every person who can spell, can and will write, what is to be done? It is difficult to know what to read, except by reading every thing; and so much of the world’s business is now transacted through the press, that it is necessary to know what is printed, if we desire to know what is going on. Opinion weighs with so vast a weight in the balance of events, that ideas of no value in themselves are of importance from the mere circumstance that they *are* ideas, and have a *bonâ fide* existence as such anywhere out of Bedlam. The world, in consequence,

gorges itself with intellectual food ; and, in order to swallow the more, *bolts* it. Nothing is now read slowly, or twice over. Books are run through with no less rapidity, and scarcely leave a more durable impression, than a newspaper article. It is from this, among other causes, that so few books are produced of any value. The lioness in the fable boasted that, though she produced only one at a birth, that one was a lion ; but if each lion only counted for one, and each leveret for one, the advantage would all be on the side of the hare. When every unit is individually weak, it is only multitude that tells. What wonder that the newspapers should carry all before them ? A book produces hardly a greater effect than an article, and there can be three hundred and sixty-five of these in one year. He, therefore, who should and would write a book, and write it in the proper manner of writing a book, now dashes down his first hasty thoughts, or what he mistakes for thoughts, in a periodical. And the public is in the predicament of an indolent man, who cannot bring himself to apply his mind vigorously to his own affairs, and over whom, therefore, not he who speaks most wisely, but he who speaks most frequently, obtains the influence."

Bear in mind, let me further say to them who are to conduct this institution, and them who are to receive its benefits, the practical bearing of the treasures collected in and diffused from these alcoves. Ignore not the activities of the time, that press as a bounden duty on all who live in it. "Action !" thrice uttered as it was by the Grecian orator, when asked what were the chief requisites of eloquence, is the great demand of our age, in its every interest and pursuit. The right of him that hath a dream to tell his dream may not be disputed ; but the number of his listeners will in all likelihood be comparatively few, and his life-giving power small indeed. Cloistered seclusion and the speculations of a morbid reason and imagination have a poor chance and amount to little, amid the stirring energies now at work. Activity, bent on and struggling for a "livelier life," raised to the exaltation of high resolve and noblest endeavor, is their most marked characteristic. Active usefulness it is that

“gives to life its lustre and perfume, and we are weeds without it.” In short, it is no time for dreaming, for airy fancies and speculation, for making our literature, as has been charged upon a large portion of it, “a mere reflection of the current sentiments, and an abandonment of its mission as an enlightener and improver of them ;” a mere apology for inanity, inefficiency, and a sense of vacuity, instead of an inciter to wise designs, lofty aspirations, and worthy actions.

“But one grand life, whose noble deeds
 File by like men to battle,
 Borne strongly to its glorious end
 Amid the world's vain rattle,
 Is worth a thousand promises
 Dreamed by a brain ascetic:
 Our glory is in acts, not words ;
 Deeds done, not deeds prophetic.”

Moreover, and above all, let there reside here, and from this place ever go forth, a moral and religious influence. In so exhorting, I trust you will understand me as having no reference to party or sect, but a spirit soaring altogether above them. It is in their broadest, truest sense, that I ask you to give their just weight to moral and religious considerations in dispensing the privileges and benefits of this institution. Amid engrossing worldly interests, it is folly, — if not wilful blindness, it is practical insanity, — to let the voice which can alone rightly interpret and direct them be drowned in the din of this lower and material world. Our advance in this land and age is most in worldly greatness ; but nothing worth, if it abjure the inexpressibly higher interests of learning, virtue, and religion ; worse than nothing, if it leads only to wider spiritual bankruptcy and ruin. There are many — may there be many, very many more — “who, apprehending the true value of this material prosperity, deeply feel the responsibilities it imposes, and would endeavor to direct and use it in a manner demanded by the solemn teachings of the past, by the pressing claims of the present, by the mighty possibilities of the future.” No investments are so secure, or so well deserving the name of securities, no expenditures of time, labor, or money, no bread cast on the waters, more sure

to return without delay unduly prolonged, or to yield a large and rich reward, than those devoted to the wholesome nurture and healthful growth of the mind. And minds, it is certain, cannot be sufficiently nourished, or adequately guarded and guided, if the essential elements of morality and religion be wanting. Genius, too, what wreaths can that weave for itself, with what garlands can its brow be adorned, fairer or more glorious, than the beauty and glory of its consecration to the highest culture of the intellectual and immortal part? Sons thus consecrated it has had, some of whom who, though cut down like the early flower, have left a sweet and delectable fragrance behind; others who have passed on to their meridian, strewing their way with culled flowers and ripe fruits; others still, who, holding on to a career lengthened to its utmost limit, have kept their faculties and zeal for good, bright and brightening to the last, just as the most brilliant hues of nature are seen in the departing year.

"Piety has found
Friends in the friends of science; and true prayer
Has flowed from lips wet with Castalian dew."

So from many most eminently gifted minds and pens and hearts has proceeded a power, not only to amuse and cheer, but to enlighten, cultivate, form to virtue, prepare for usefulness and happiness here, and heavenly blessedness hereafter. On the other hand, the number, alas! is not small of possessors of the finest and most brilliant powers of intellect and imagination, who have perverted them to pandering to base appetites and passions, to ministering to diseased and corrupt fancies, and leading them spell-bound by unnatural, monstrous, accursed creations; digging pitfalls of ruin for the young and inexperienced, and working untold mischief and misery. Whoever lets fall one discolored, bitter drop into the sweet, transparent waters of truth, innocence, and virtue, is so far an enemy to his race. How much more are they its foes, who, systematically, for selfish and wicked ends, aim, by their writings, at the corruption and degradation of souls; who to the mind's health and

peace are the pestilence walking in darkness, and the destruction wasting at noonday ! Of such the language of Edmund Burke, strong as it is, is none too strong, when he says, in giving his estimate of what is likely to result from a character chiefly dependent for fame and fortune on knowledge and talent, as well in its morbid and perverted state as in that which is sound and natural, "Naturally, men so formed and finished are the first gifts of Providence to the world. But when they have once thrown off the fear of God, which was in all ages too often the case, and the fear of man, which is now the case, and when in that state they come to understand one another, and to act in corps, a more dreadful calamity cannot arise out of hell to scourge mankind." Be it, then, ever borne in view, that poison lurks in the feast of knowledge of which we are invited to partake ; that among the plants and fruits of human wisdom, as in the first garden, there is a serpent, and a tree of the knowledge of good and evil, from which the most watchful moral discrimination alone can save us from reaping direful consequences. Fortunately there is reserved to us the power of such discrimination. Though the issue of immoral and pernicious publications may not, except in most flagrant instances, be restrained, we are not obliged to purchase or read or circulate them. Our part it is, — would that we might invariably choose and be true to it ! — to cultivate purity of taste, and exercise sound moral judgment, in regard to whatever works we select for our own or commend to others' reading ; seeing to it, that, while the intellect is informed and trained to wisdom, the heart is made and kept right, its sensibilities chastened and regulated, its affections attached to and its impulses directed toward the worthiest objects, the heart and conscience kindled and made tenderly, uniformly alive to every moral and religious obligation. Thus are the greatest enlargement of mind and elevation of character wisely and most effectually sought ; for —

"It is the heart, and not the brain,
Which to the highest doth attain."

In dedicating, then, this edifice to the memory of our de-

parted brave, and the instruction of the living, we consecrate it, first of all and over all, to the God of both the dead and living, and to the everlasting, all-important interests of truth, virtue, and pure religion. While we dedicate it to the names and services of those here specially mentioned, as we do most solemnly and affectionately, we yet bear in grateful remembrance all the wise, patriotic, and good who have preceded them here, and in the light of whose example they went forth to do and to die in their country's cause. At the same time that we dedicate it, as now we would, with all the solemnity becoming the sacred interests involved, to the other main purpose of its erection, — that of the diffusion of knowledge by books and reading among all of every class and age, — I delight to advert to antecedents, and to recall associations, which seem to constitute the present occasion, as tending to the fulfilment of that purpose, but a consummation in entire accordance with the past history of this place. A literary air has from its first settlement pervaded it. Most of its professional men have been liberally educated, and some of them have been eminent for their classical and scientific attainments. Among the teachers of its schools have been Warren, Channing, Sparks, Proctor, Emerson, Miles, Carter, Russel, Wood, Fletcher, — all eminent for scholarship, — with others that might be named. Of their pupils were Frederick Wilder, dearly loved and early lost, whose name I can never — for friendship's sake alone — utter without deep emotion; whom I hesitate not to pronounce without a peer, for the combination of intellectual and moral qualities, in the seven classes with which I was connected in Harvard University; Horatio Greenough, also, the distinguished American sculptor, who in youth gave unmistakable indications of the peculiar talent which shone so conspicuously in his subsequent career; and many besides, who, in the professions, in literary and scientific pursuits, in the walks of business, of civil and political life, have been eminently useful and honored, and at least have done no discredit even to such teachers. Writers, too, and authors we have had, worthy of special and honorable mention. Mrs. Rowlandson's "Removes," — the narrative given by one

of the earliest settlers and the first minister's wife, from the day of her capture amid all the horrors of fire, wounds, and death, which she touchingly designates "the dolefullest day that ever mine eyes saw," to the time of her deliverance from wretched and almost hopeless captivity, — while deeply interesting in itself, is regarded by competent judges to be one of the most authentic and accurate accounts of the character, habits, and modes of life of the aboriginal inhabitants of this country. Coming down to a much later period, there was the Hillar and Cleveland family residing, in patriarchal union, in the venerable, and for its time stately, mansion, around which cluster the buildings of that excellent institution, the State Industrial School for Girls. At the head of that family, as pictured by my earlier recollections, was Joseph Hillar, an officer of the Revolution, a friend of Washington, and in token of his confidence appointed by him first Collector, under the Federal Constitution, of the port of Salem and Beverly; a man of high principle and bearing, the refined, accomplished, Christian gentleman. Rarely, if ever, — and I appeal to some present better capable than myself of judging, to bear me out in the assertion, — has such an amount of talent, cultivation, and varied attainment been concentrated under a single family roof. Included within that domestic circle were four sisters, all of rich and various culture, two of whom made valuable contributions to the current literature; also the husbands of the latter, both intelligent and well informed, entertaining and agreeable companions, of great energy and wide experience, having travelled or navigated over a large portion of the globe; one of them being the author of an interesting and remarkable narrative of his voyages and commercial adventures in which he had borne a principal part, and likewise the father of Henry R. Cleveland, whose literary remains attest his well-earned distinction as a man of taste, a writer and scholar. Then there was Caroline Lee Hentz, whose warm heart, fervent soul, and attractive graces here had their birth and early nurture; whose thoughts and affections, notwithstanding long distance and absence, were always to the end of her life strongly and fondly drawn hither. Her mature life

was mostly passed in our Southern States, where her tales and romances by the power of vivid description, the florid style and luxuriant imagination, which marked them, found a congenial atmosphere, and gained a popularity second perhaps to none of the kind, or indeed of any kind, in that region. Another I must not in justice to yourselves, or the place, or a deservedly acquired reputation, omit to refer to, who, though not a native, not strictly to the manor born, is by association and residence one with you and us; whose modesty yet, as we are favored with her presence, I should fear to offend by pronouncing her name; and I will therefore content myself with simply expressing the wish, to which I am sure of a general and hearty response, that all the *wares* brought to the literary market might be superior as hers. But I go one step further. I claim for you a share in the origin and influence of the works of some who have had here a temporary abode and occupation, but whose interest and attachments never forsook, rather have been increased, warmed, mellowed, by time, in this scene of their early teachings and labors. So was it with William Ellery Channing, the eloquent divine, the far-famed writer, the enlightened and devoted philanthropist. So it was with Jared Sparks, who, to the credit lastingly to be accorded to him for the offices he filled and the works he did so well, will be super-added in all coming time the title of biographer *par excellence* of Washington. So it is — long may he be spoken of in the present tense — with another, with whose attendance we are honored to-day, George B. Emerson, who, having with unwearied fidelity and signal success been a teacher of one generation; having contributed greatly to elevate his profession, to enlarge its sphere, and place it in importance and the public esteem by the side of what are termed the learned professions; vying still with the most forward in devising and inculcating the best methods of promoting that all-concerning interest, education, and besides being always ready to enter, heart and hand, into any enterprises and the upholding of any institutions by which our race might be exalted and blessed, — has, moreover, by his writings laid the community under weighty obligation; and in

his treatise on arboriculture, if he has not, like the fabled music of Orpheus and his lyre, drawn the groves after him, he draws from them rich lessons and stores of science, taste, and practical wisdom.

With such associations, derived from the past and present, which may justly be regarded in themselves favoring auspices and bright auguries, we may turn with animating hope and confidence to the future of this hall and this institution, now consecrated at once to genuine patriotism and good learning. Most cordially, my friends, do I congratulate you on the work so well begun, and carried to such completion. Long may you live to witness and enjoy the benefits thence accruing, that are destined, I trust, to flow down and be diffused through uncounted generations! If that is too much to anticipate for each, — and all of you must, in the order of nature, at no very remote period, have passed from these earthly scenes, — it is pleasant, very, to think of the instruction, the impulses and incentives to virtuous living, the solace and delights, which many of every condition and age may partake and enjoy, when you that have reared these walls and spread this intellectual banquet shall be dwellers in the region of spiritual, heavenly, and ever-progressive illumination. Walter Scott, in that combination of penetrating discernment and real pathos wrought at times by his magic pen, represents Dumbiedikes as saying on his death-bed, in his parting advice to his son, “Jock, when ye hae naething else to do, ye may be aye sticking in a tree; it will be growing, Jock, when ye’re sleeping. My father tauld me sae forty years sin’, but I ne’er fand time to mind him.” May the tree you have here planted, evermore, whether your eyes behold it, or are closed in the sleep that in this world knows no waking, be spreading and strengthening its roots, sending out branches clad in foliage of living green, and laden with fruit, fair to the eye, pleasant to the taste, of which whoever tastes shall live, and not die, surely not die that worst of deaths, the only one we need to dread, that of the mind; but from which the soul may derive continually increasing light, health, peace, and joy. Let us, furthermore, hope and trust that while the call issuing from these portals, made tender

and affecting by these memorials of martyrs for their country's good, shall sound out to this and succeeding ages, clothing itself in the language of sacred writ,—Ho! every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters: come ye, buy and eat, without money and without price,—it may be responded to heartily and fully by multitudes who shall here not only drink deep of the fountains of human knowledge, but shall imbibe largely of the wisdom that is from above, and thither leads the way.

O D E.

I.

THE purple haze of summer days
Lies low above the sleeping hills ;
Beneath the Sun's warm touch, the Earth
To her deep centre throbs and thrills ;
And Peace above the smiling land
Her gentle benediction breathes ;
And round the sheathed and rusty brand,
The summer-blooming laurel wreathes.

Seven times the earth her solemn course
Has wheeled around the central sphere, —
Seven times the change from bud to leaf
Has marked the noon-day of the year, —
Since that wild spring-time, when the blast
That kindled all the land to flame,
With cloud and thunder, o'er us passed,
And woke us from our dream of shame !

II.

We had dwelt with the heroes of mythical ages, —
The gods on Olympus, the men of old Rome,
The chivalrous knights of King Arthur's romances,
The paladins clustered round Charlemagne's throne.

We thought that all chivalry, valor, and beauty
 Had melted like dew, in the noon of our time;
 That the clang of the loom and the beat of the piston
 Now made for the world its most musical chime.

Like the sound of a trumpet, the voice of an angel,
 Like the light that around the transfigured once shone,
 Came the noise of the battle, the glare of its bale-fires:
 We sprang from our slumbers; our visions had gone!

We turned from the past with its glooms and its shadows;
 The light of the present shone full on our brow,
 Flushed crimson with shame, at the thought that its grandeur
 Had never been felt by our spirits till now!

We saw that whatever of truth and of valor,
 Whatever of glory, past ages can claim,
 Still shines in the laurels that garland the heroes
 Who fought the good fight in fair Liberty's name!

Though the knights for their ladies have run their last tourney,
 True knights at the service of freedom had we;
 Though their helmets be doffed, and their war-cries be silent,
 Our rifle-balls sang the shrill song of the free!

So the dark years of war and the wild days of battle
 We welcomed, and knew that truth grappled with wrong;
 Bade farewell to the olive of peace for a season,
 Made the blood-dripping laurel the theme of our song! —

Until we saw, above the rescued land,
 Shine in the sky, the golden bow of peace;
 And hailed the omen, — promising at last,
 From all the woes of war a swift release.

III.

How dream-like seemed those fever days of war!
 How cool the breath from arid battle-plains!
 The cannon-echoes sound but faint and far,
 And dim have grown the crimson banner stains.

Alas! how little trace on earth or sky,
 The hurrying past, however stormy, leaves!
 The broken branches fall to earth and die,
 But not one element in nature grieves.

The war-scorched plains where grappled hostile bands, —
 Where nameless heroes fought, and fighting, died, —
 The spring-time clothes again with genial hands,
 And hides the wave-marks of the battle-tide.

Thanks for the kindly years
 That rob us of our tears, —
 That heal the wounded heart and soothe the pangs of sorrow;
 That leave our joy and pride
 In our heroes glorified;
 But from the night of mourning keep their promise of the morrow.

IV.

Still lives the memory of our fallen brave,
 Though tattered banners gather silent dust,
 And fades the crimson stain from land and wave,
 And sword and cannon moulder into rust!

We walk the weary paths of wordly life,
 Uncertain of the worth of all we win, —
 Theirs the long rest that follows glorious strife,
 The peace that dawns upon the battle's din,

For those who fight upon the side of God,
 And, dying, know they do not die in vain,
 But see, up-looking from the bloody sod,
 The martyr's aureole crown the battle-plain!

Let the storied marbles rise
 Till they touch the arching skies, —
 Let brush and chisel tell, to the world, the thrilling story
 Of the men who died for truth,
 And the golden hopes of youth
 For the love of freedom yielded, and bartered life for glory!

v.

Here in the sacred heart
 Of the dear old pilgrim land,
 Whose heroes wrought their part
 To save their father's land, —
 Where the streams and woods are vocal
 With the voice of ancient years,
 And hills and fields are hallowed
 By the pilgrim's blood and tears, —
 With sober hearts and humble,
 We come to own our debt,
 To the hero-sons of heroes,
 Who proved that there lingers yet
 Some trace of the ancient spirit,
 That fired the men of old;
 That, under our sordid drosses,
 Still burns the virgin gold!

Within these walls shall echo
 The voices heard of yore,
 Which the truth revealed from heaven,
 To the waiting people bore,

Of bards, whose lips were touched
 With a spark of heavenly fire,
 And who struck, with prophet-fingers,
 The poet's ringing lyre, —

Which told of the deeds of heroes,
 Whose blood redeemed the earth
 From the bonds of old oppression,
 Of the throes of Freedom's birth,

Of the dawn of civic order,
 Of the victories of peace,
 Of the promise of that future,
 When the days of war shall cease.

But the sculptured names above
 Shall tell their nobler tale,
 Through day and night the same,
 Beneath the starlight pale,

Or when round the western mountain
 The evening glory lingers,
 And paints the pallid marble
 With sunset's rosy fingers !

VI.

This pile your hands have builded
 Is built for time alone :
 The rust shall eat the iron,
 The moss shall crust the stone,
 The massy walls shall crumble,
 And sink in dust away,
 When the fingers of the ages
 Have wrought their sure decay ;

But a deed that is done for freedom, —
 A blow that is struck for truth, —
 Shall live with the souls of men,
 In a self-renewing youth !
 In the golden book of Heaven,
 The sacred names are written,
 Of the heroes and the martyrs
 Who the hosts of sin have smitten !
 No need of our poor endeavors :
 Their work was its own reward ;
 The seed shall grow, that they planted
 On the bloody battle-sward,
 And the harvest shall be gathered
 In the good time of the Lord !

When the march of the solemn years
 Hath brought us to their goal,
 The precious blood and tears,
 Wrung from each hero-soul,

Shall be paid in flowing measure, full and free :
For virtue bringeth peace ;
And the wrongs and sins of old
Shall pass like troubled dreams ;
And the shock and crash of arms,
And the battle's wild alarms,
In God's own time shall cease ;
And the light of his holy law,
With its mingled love and awe,
Shall shine o'er all the earth, and light the solemn sea !

APPENDIX.

PREPARED BY REV. GEORGE M. BARTOL, AND EXTRACTED IN PART FROM THE
"CLINTON COURANT" OF JUNE 20, 1868.

DEDICATION OF SOLDIERS' MEMORIAL HALL IN LANCASTER, JUNE 17, 1868.

At a meeting of the citizens of the town, held in March, 1867, it was voted to appropriate \$5,000 for the purpose of building a Memorial Hall, provided a like amount should be raised by subscription. The additional \$5,000 was more than made up, several of the citizens of the town contributing sums ranging from \$500 to \$1,000. The matter was intrusted to a committee of seven, consisting of the following gentlemen: NATHANIEL THAYER, Esq., Rev. G. M. BARTOL, Dr. J. L. S. THOMPSON, HENRY WILDER, JACOB FISHER, QUINCY WHITNEY, and Maj. E. M. FULLER. Of this committee, the selectmen have been members *ex officio*.

The building, which is situated in the rear of the town common, between the parish church and the town hall, has been completed at a cost of \$25,000; the balance, above appropriation and subscription, having been contributed by NATHANIEL THAYER, Esq., a native of Lancaster, by whose munificence the library had been already very largely endowed. The style is classic, of the so-called Renaissance; the material being granite, brown freestone, and brick. Dimensions: 56½ by 36½ feet. The mason-work was done by Fairbanks & Frazer, of Clinton, and the wood-work by Robert Black, Esq., of Marlborough.

Inside, the walls and ceilings are frescoed in the highest style of the art, by Brazier, of Boston. The entire arrangement of the building reflects much credit on the architects, Messrs. Ryder and Harris, also of Boston.

Immediately above the porch, and architecturally connected with it, is a recessed panel or niche of freestone, bearing in bas-relief an urn surrounded by a wreath of oak-leaves, draped in mourning, and resting upon a pedestal of bound staves, representing the Union intact. On the pedestal appears the national coat of arms, and against it lean a musket and sword.

The entry bears on either wall a marble tablet; that on the right thus inscribed:—

1653-1868.

THIS EDIFICE

TO THE SOLE HONOR AND MEMORY, UNDER GOD,
OF THOSE BRAVE AND LOYAL VOLUNTEERS,
NATIVE OR RESIDENT OF LANCASTER,
WHO FELL MAINTAINING THE NATION'S CAUSE
IN THE BATTLES OF THE GREAT REBELLION,
IS ERECTED ON THE VERGE OF A FIELD
LONG USED BY THE INHABITANTS AS A MILITARY MUSTER-GROUND,
AND NEAR THE FOURTH BUILDING
OF THE TOWN'S FIRST CHURCH, INSTITUTED 1653.

"The grass withereth, and the flower thereof falleth away; but the word of the Lord endureth for ever."

WITHIN ITS WALLS THE PUBLIC RECORDS OF THE TOWN,
WASTED BY FIRE AND OTHER ACCIDENTS,
AND ALSO THE TOWN'S LIBRARY, FOUNDED IN 1862,
ARE NOW MORE SAFELY THAN HERETOFORE DEPOSITED.

"Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it; except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain."

The tablet on the left has this inscription:—

"The memorial of virtue is immortal. When it is present, men take example at it; and when it is gone, they desire it."

THIS BUILDING,

BEGUN AND COMPLETED A.D. 1867-8,

IS DEDICATED, BY THEIR FELLOW-CITIZENS,

TO THE SACRED MEMORY OF THOSE MEN OF LANCASTER
WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES FOR THE INTEGRITY OF THE REPUBLIC
IN THE CIVIL WAR, 1861-1865.

WE CAN NEVER BE DEATHLESS TILL WE DIE.

IT IS THE DEAD WIN BATTLES—NO: THE BRAVE

DIE NEVER. BEING DEATHLESS, THEY BUT CHANGE

THEIR COUNTRY'S VOWS FOR MORE,—THEIR COUNTRY'S HEART.

A door at the right conducts us into a fire-proof room, 13 by 19 feet, and 12 feet in height, designed for the use of town officers. The floor is laid on iron beams with brick arches; the ceiling is similarly constructed. The room is furnished with iron doors and shutters, and convenient cases are arranged at one end for records and papers.

On the left of the vestibule is the office-room of the librarian, 16 by 13 feet, and 12 feet in height. This room connects, by means of a conveniently furnished ante-room, with the main room of the building.

The twofold design of the building — as a library and as a Memorial Hall — everywhere appears. The main hall is constructed in the form of an octagon, the distance from side to side being 34 feet. The height from the floor to the skylight is 26 feet. Directly in front of the entrance-door, and on the farther side of the room, is a large marble tablet, bearing the names of the soldiers, citizens, or natives of the town who died in the war, arranged in the order of date of decease, with age. Upon the upper part of the tablet appears the following:—

THAT OUR POSTERITY MAY ALSO KNOW THEM,
AND THE CHILDREN THAT ARE YET UNBORN.

Then follows the list of thirty-nine deceased soldiers, as below:—

George Wright Cutler, Oct. 21, 1861. — 23.
 Willard Raymond Lawrence, Oct. 21, 1861. — 28.
 James Gardner Warner, Oct. 21, 1861. — 31.
 Luther Gerry Turner, Nov. 1, 1861. — 24.
 Franklin Hawkes Farnsworth, May 31, 1862. — 19.
 James Burke, Sept. 1, 1862. — 26.
 Robert Roberts Moses, Oct. 3, 1862. — 26.
 Ebenezer Waters Richards, Dec. 13, 1862. — 37.
 George Lee Thurston, Dec. 15, 1862. — 31.
 Henry Maynard Putney, April 28, 1863. — 20.
 David Wilder Jones, May 3, 1863. — 46.
 James Dillon, May 10, 1863. — 26.
 Charles Timothy Fairbanks, June 19, 1863. — 27.
 Henry Albert Cutler, July 9, 1863. — 19.
 Oscar Frary, July 28, 1863. — 27.
 Stephen Adams Keyes, Aug. 10, 1863. — 19.
 Walter Andrew Brooks, Aug. 22, 1863. — 20.
 John Patrick Wise, March 15, 1864. — 19.
 John Chickering Haynes, March 19, 1864. — 30.
 Stephen Wesley Gray, April 4, 1864. — 32.
 James Andrew Bridge, May 15, 1864. — 21.
 Henry Jackson Parker, May 15, 1864. — 28.
 Sumner Russell Kilburn, May 16, 1864. — 21.
 Solon Whiting Chaplin, June 5, 1864. — 40.

William Dustin Carr, June 20, 1864. — 40.
 Samuel Mirick Bowman, July 26, 1864. — 28.
 Caleb Wood Sweet, Aug. 3, 1864. — 23.
 Edward Richmond Washburn, Sept. 5, 1864. — 28.
 Horatio Elisha Turner, Sept. 8, 1864. — 20.
 William Schumacher, Sept. 13, 1864. — 22.
 Frederic Fordyce Nourse, Sept. 13, 1864. — 22.
 George Walton Divoll, Sept. 21, 1864. — 37.
 John Louis Moeglin, Sept. 28, 1864. — 53.
 Oren Hodgman, Sept. 30, 1864. — 21.
 Luke Ollis, Oct. 13, 1864. — 21.
 Fordyce Horan, Nov. 9, 1864. — 21.
 Francis Henry Fairbanks, Jan. 4, 1865. — 30.
 Edward Russell Joslyn, April 10, 1865. — 21.
 Francis Washburn, April 22, 1865. — 26.*

Beneath the tablet, and cut in gilt on the walnut base, are the words, —

IN THE SIGHT OF THE UNWISE THEY SEEMED TO DIE,
 AND THEIR DEPARTURE WAS TAKEN FOR MISERY,
 AND THEIR GOING FROM US TO BE UTTER DESTRUCTION;
 BUT THEY ARE IN PEACE.

Above this tablet is the "war window," of stained glass, on which appear the Holy Bible and military emblems, as sword, helmet, shield, victor's wreath, and national flag.

Directly above the centre of the hall is a domed skylight, or "peace window," also of stained glass, with this sentence in the border, in the old-English character: —

"They shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks; neither shall they learn war any more;"

and representing the breaking away of the clouds of war, and the descent of the dove with the olive-branch of peace.

At the springing of this dome is the following motto, also in old-English letter: —

"The truth endureth and is always strong. Et libeth and conquereth for evermore, the kingdom, power, and majesty of all ages."

On the walls of the hall, above and below, shelves are arranged for the use of the library, on the peg system of the British Museum. A gallery runs round seven sides of the room, with a light iron railing,

* Albert Gilman Hunting, deceased June 25, 1862, *Æt.* 19, volunteered at Holliston; but his family removed directly afterwards to Lancaster, to which town he belonged when introduced into our city.

and sustained by iron columns. The estimated capacity is 25,000 volumes.

A flight of stairs leads from the vestibule to rooms directly above the fire-proof and office rooms, at the west end of the building; also to the galleries. The north room is designed as a general reading-room. Folding doors connect this with the south or "cabinet room." This room is to be devoted to natural-history collections, and is furnished with elegant and convenient black-walnut cases, drawers, and cupboards. Arrangements are also made for mineralogical and ornithological specimens, &c., &c.

The entire interior is elegantly finished in black walnut, and is to be warmed by furnaces in the basement, and lighted by gas.

DEDICATION.

Appropriate dedicatory services were held last Wednesday, the 17th inst.; this date being the ninety-third anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill.

The services commenced at about 2½ o'clock, NATHANIEL THAYER, Esq., presiding. The order of exercises was as follows:—

- I. Statement of Executive Committee.
- II. Music by the Band.
- III. Reading of Scriptures, by Rev. G. R. Leavitt.
- IV. Dedicatory Prayer, by Rev. G. M. Bartol.
- V. Music by the Band.
- VI. Address, by Rev. Christopher T. Thayer, of Boston.
- VII. Music by the Band.
- VIII. Ode, by H. F. Buswell, Esq., of Canton.
- IX. Prayer and Benediction, by Rev. Dr. Whittemore.

21062

History of the
Town of
Leicester
By Joseph Willard.

THE
NEWBERRY
LIBRARY
CHICAGO

THE ATTRACTIONS OF LANCASTER.

THE STORY OF A COUNTRY HOUSE—A YOUNG SCOTISH GENTLEMAN'S FANCY—THE BEAUTY, QUIET AND COMFORT OF THE TOWN—AN OLD LADY'S DESIRE—THE DRIVES AND THE MAGNIFICENT SCENERY.

[FROM AN OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT.]

LANCASTER, MASS., Sept. 16, 1873.

I have been staying here during the latter part of this summer season, and feel inclined to say a word or two about the place and its surroundings. Very likely the ordinary impression in regard to the natural features of Massachusetts, among those not familiar with them, would be about as accurate as that conveyed by Mrs. Hemans's popular and noble lyric of the scene of the Pilgrims' Landing. The "stern and rock-bound coast," imagined by the poet, always a great favorite of mine, was really a long stretch of barren sand, and, besides the natural fact that forests do not usually grow on such a soil by the sea-shore, any "giant branches" supposed to have "tossed" on the occasion in England to have attracted the notice of the venerable forefathers of our New England race. So, in former days, nothing was more common than remarks upon the hard and ungenial soil of Massachusetts, an impression which intelligent modern cultivation has done so much to correct. And then, in point of variety and beauty of scenery, of which this town affords such striking examples, I do not know where it could be surpassed, even amidst the lovely views of fertile England itself. I observe, by the way, that Rev. Dr. Parker of London, at the banquet of the Pomological Society, on Friday evening last, remarked, in the course of an appropriate response to a toast,—"More excellent fruits I have never tasted, even in England itself." I should judge so, from the statement made by a friend of mine, who within a year or two past has had opportunity of trying what England could produce in this way, at the tables of "the nobility and gentry" of the old country, and, said he, "I never tasted any English fruit which had much better flavor than a turnip." The few hours which elapsed between the arrival of the reverend gentleman in Boston and his appearance at the banquet, the tables loaded with a profusion of every variety of delicious fruit, afforded him, probably, not the best means of discrimination; but, to say nothing of other choice vegetable luxuries, I hope he will not neglect his chance of trying our sweet Indian corn, which some one has pronounced a "special blessing of the land," and which old England has not sun enough to enable it to produce at all.

In illustration of the attractions of this place let me say that we are at a house which has at least a sort of private history. It is a comfortable dwelling, built with unusual taste for a country residence of former days, facing the main road, and some three-quarters of a mile distant from the principal village of Lancaster, on what is called the "Old Common." The house is shaded by superb elms, and, indeed, with several varieties of this description of tree, and with wide-branching maples, with walnuts and chestnuts and an enriching sycamore, the whole region around is profusely ornamented. I have found, too, a magnificent oak, a mile or more away, which measures not much less than thirty feet in circumference at its base and must

at the tables of "the nobility and gentry" of the old country, and, said he, "I never tasted any English fruit which had much better flavor than a turnip." The few hours which elapsed between the arrival of the reverend gentleman in Boston and his appearance at the banquet, the tables loaded with a profusion of every variety of delicious fruit, afforded him, probably, not the best means of discrimination; but, to say nothing of other choice vegetable luxuries, I hope he will not neglect his chance of trying our sweet Indian corn, which some one has pronounced a "special blessing of the land," and which old England has not sun enough to enable it to produce at all.

In illustration of the attractions of this place let me say that we are at a house which has at least a sort of private history. It is a comfortable dwelling, built with unusual taste for a country residence of former days, facing the main road, and some three-quarters of a mile distant from the principal village of Lancaster, on what is called the "Old Common." The house is shaded by superb elms, and, mixed, with several varieties of this description of tree, and with wide-branched maples, with walnuts and chestnuts and an evergreen sycamore, the whole region about is profusely ornamented. I have found, too, a magnificent oak, a mile or more away, which measures not much less than thirty feet in circumference at its base and must be the growth of centuries. Thirty years ago, a young Scottish gentleman, highly educated and accomplished, who had spent years in foreign travel and had seen nature in her most striking and beautiful aspects, relinquished whatever associations he may have had with his native land and with Europe in favor of our Massachusetts Lancaster. He bought the house and farm after one summer's residence, and here he lived in the exercise of the most liberal hospitality, gathering about him a circle of cultivated friends, and here, after a few years, he died at an early age and was buried. In the way of improvement of the place, he conceived the idea of planting a colony of pines on a piece of rising ground, of rather thin soil, some distance to the rear of the house. Everybody insisted that nothing would come of it; but, like his countryman, Sir Walter Scott, who in the course of years covered the bare upland of his domain of Abbotsford with a luxuriant and valuable forest of pines, he persevered until his plantation became a noble grove crowning the eminence which descends towards a spring of delicious water at its foot and affords a refreshing shade from the summer heat. To his care also, is due a hawthorn hedge, which skirts the main field fronting the road, the bright red berries of which, intermingled with the pretty leaves of the bush, afford a pleasing object. But though many of the shrubs have attained vigorous and ample growth, the rest only indicate what might have been done during the twenty years since the former proprietor's decease, to maintain such a truly ornamental fence in a flourishing condition. Except for the not very frequent passage of vehicles over the road in front of us, and that scream of the steam whistle at some distance, which at length seems to penetrate every remote solitude—for I scarcely know now where the corn-law rhymers' "Hail! silence 'of the desert!'" would be applicable,—universal quietude prevails. To one weary of the din and tumult of the city this negation of noise is a positive luxury, a truly healing balm to the senses and the mind.

Dr. Stewart Robertson, the gentleman referred to, died in the year 1849, aged only thirty; so that he did not long enjoy the advantages of the country and residence of his adoption. He rests in the rural graveyard, but a little distance from his

nence which descends towards a spring of delicious water at its foot and affords a refreshing shade from the summer heat. To his care also, is due a hawthorn hedge, which skirts the main field fronting the road, the bright red berries of which, intermingled with the pretty leaves of the bush, afford a pleasing object. But though many of the shrubs have attained vigorous and ample growth, the rest only indicate what might have been done during the twenty years since the former proprietor's decease, to maintain such a truly ornamental fence in a flourishing condition. Except for the not very frequent passage of vehicles over the road in front of us, and that scream of the steam whistle at some distance, which at length seems to penetrate every remote solitude—for I scarcely know now where the corn-law rhymers' "Hail! silence "of the desert!" would be applicable,—universal quietude prevails. To one weary of the din and turmoil of the city this negation of noise is a positive luxury, a truly healing balm to the senses and the mind.

Dr. Stewart Robertson, the gentleman referred to, died in the year 1849, aged only thirty; so that he did not long enjoy the advantages of the country and residence of his adoption. He rests in the rural graveyard, but a little distance from his house, his heraldic bearings emblazoned on a panel of the gate, and in an enclosure at the foot of his own he the remains of an attached Scottish servant and his wife, whom he sent for and brought over from their native home. One of our poets, Dr. T. W. Parsons, who has since become so celebrated as the translator of Dante, and by many other exquisite verses, was an intimate associate of Dr. Robertson, and prepared the appropriate epitaph which I copy from the gravestone of his friend.

Here Stuart sleeps; and should some brother Scot
Wander this way, and pause upon the spot,
He need not ask, now life's poor show is o'er,
What arms he carried or what plaid he wore;
So small the value of illustrious birth
Brought to the solemn last assay of earth,
Yet unreprieved this epitaph may say
A royal soul was wrapped in Stuart's clay,
And generous actions consecrate his mound
More than all titles, though of kingly sound.

But silence and seclusion are not equally agreeable to every one. Accordingly, our nearest neighbor on one side of us, a worthy old lady of nearly ninety years, but with the spirit of nineteen, complains a little of the dulness of the constantly recurring scene. She thinks we might have music occasionally on our "common," a space at present of a quarter of an acre, the remainder of that once extensive territory having long since degenerated from common to individual use by the occupation of farmers and others, its present possessors. The venerable dame in question expresses a strong desire to visit the city and especially to attend the theatre, an entertainment she has never yet enjoyed, and I should not be surprised at any time at hearing of her claiming her share as an interested spectator and auditor in the merry-making performances of the Boston Museum. Adjoining us, on the other side, are the pleasant grounds and neat buildings of the State Industrial School for girls; certainly a most useful and exemplary institution, under the careful superintendence of Rev. Mr. Ames, a gentleman extremely well fitted to discharge the various responsible duties incumbent on him. We are near enough to hear the not unfrequent singing exercises of the school when the windows are opened; no one could fail to be pleased with the general air of neatness and order which pervades this excellent establishment.

When we first came here on Monday, May 1st,

But silence and seclusion are not equally agreeable to every one. Accordingly, our nearest neighbor on one side of us, a worthy old lady of nearly ninety years, but with the spirit of nineteen, complains a little of the dullness of the constantly recurring scene. She thinks we might have music occasionally on our "common," a space at present of a quarter of an acre, the remainder of that once extensive territory having long since degenerated from common to individual use by the occupation of farmers and others, its present possessors. The venerable dame in question expresses a strong desire to visit the city and especially to attend the theatre, an entertainment she has never yet enjoyed, and I should not be surprised at any time at hearing of her claiming her share as an interested spectator and auditor in the merry-making performances of the Boston Museum. Adjoining us, on the other side, are the pleasant grounds and neat buildings of the State Industrial School for girls; certainly a most useful and exemplary institution, under the careful superintendence of Rev. Mr. Ames, a gentleman extremely well fitted to discharge the various responsible duties incumbent on him. We are near enough to hear the not unfrequent singing exercises of the school when the windows are opened; no one could fail to be pleased with the general air of neatness and order which pervades this excellent establishment.

When we first came here, on inquiry, "Where were the pleasantest drives?" we were told that they were very pleasant, whichever direction we might happen to take, and the statement has been fully verified. The pretty river, — Nashua, — very different in aspect and character from the view it presents at another point far away, where it rushes in its progress over foaming falls, runs quietly through the town between sylvan and often picturesque banks. Indeed the landscape seen from any rising ground in this neighborhood is truly charming. To the westward looms up Wachusett, twelve miles away, elegant in outline, and presenting a deep blue mass against the lighter tint of the clear sapphire sky. Farther north stands out the rounded summit of Monadnock, and the range of conspicuous mountains is completed by the sharper peaks of Kearsarge, — not the Kearsarge otherwise called Pequonect, in Conway, — but its namesake in the lower part of Merrimack county, New Hampshire. A very prominent and beautiful object, within the actual limits celebrated by a former American poet, Rufus Dawes, of the town, is George Hill, tinged with the forest over half its summit, deriving its appellation, it is said, from an Indian of that name whose wigwam rested there a couple of centuries ago. In an opposite direction you ascend through a delightful wooded road to the extensive farm which supplies our Boston "Parker's" with its capital butter, and from this elevated point a view presents itself which can scarcely be surpassed for breadth and variety. It reminds one of the prospect from the Flume House down the valley of the Pemigewasset, except that here it commands a sight of many distant or nearer towns and villages, the whole scene bounded by the full body of the mountains I have mentioned, rising amidst the long ranges of lesser hills.

A stroll into the principal one of the three villages of Lancaster brings you to the well-furnished public library, which is liberally endowed, and is said by those competent to judge to be the best of our similar institutions outside of the principal cities of the State. In driving about the town and neighborhood, one cannot but be struck with the excellence of the roads and bridges, and I learn

enough to hear the not unfrequent singing exercises of the school when the windows are opened; no one could fail to be pleased with the general air of neatness and order which pervades this excellent establishment.

When we first came here, on inquiry, "Where were the pleasantest drives?" we were told that they were very pleasant, whichever direction we might happen to take, and the statement has been fully verified. The pretty river,—Nashua,—very different in aspect and character from the view it presents at another point far away, where it rushes in its progress over foaming falls, runs quietly through the town between sylvan and often picturesque banks. Indeed the landscape seen from any rising ground in this neighborhood is truly charming. To the westward looms up Wachusett, twelve miles away, elegant in outline, and presenting a deep blue mass against the lighter tint of the clear sapphire sky. Farther north stands out the rounded summit of Monadnock, and the range of conspicuous mountains is completed by the sharper peaks of Kearsarge,—not the Kearsarge otherwise called Pequocket, in Conway,—but its namesake in the lower part of Merrimack county, New Hampshire. A very prominent and beautiful object, within the actual limits celebrated by a former American poet, Rufus Dawes, of the town, is George Hill, tinged with the forest over half its summit, deriving its appellation, it is said, from an Indian of that name whose wigwam rested there a couple of centuries ago. In an opposite direction you ascend through a delightful wooded road to the extensive farm which supplies our Boston "Parker's" with its capital butter, and from this elevated point a view presents itself which can scarcely be surpassed for breadth and variety. It reminds one of the prospect from the Flume House down the valley of the Pemigewasset, except that here it commands a sight of many distant or nearer towns and villages, the whole scene bounded by the full body of the mountains I have mentioned, rising amidst the long ranges of lesser hills.

A stroll into the principal one of the three villages of Lancaster brings you to the well-furnished public library, which is liberally endowed, and is said by those competent to judge to be the best of our similar institutions outside of the principal cities of the State. In driving about the town and neighborhood, one cannot but be struck with the excellence of the roads and bridges, and I learn that notwithstanding any expenses incident to public affairs, the town owes not a single dollar. I cannot help inferring that this creditable state of things is largely due to the princely tax, itself an independent fortune in a country town, paid by one wealthy citizen, whose place of business is in Boston, but whose elegant country mansion and grounds adorn this place of his birth. Indeed, one may well believe, from statements current here, that this gentleman, with far more abundant means, is actuated by the spirit of the "Man of Ross," so celebrated by Pope for his active benevolence, and that no reasonable claim for the alleviation of distress fails of his sympathy and substantial aid.

In a word, without meaning to depreciate the advantages of many other beautiful places in Massachusetts to a rural residence, there seem to me to be peculiar natural claims about this town and an air of solid comfort that betokens, as is the fact, that it has been long the home of persons well-to-do, and not undistinguished in their day and generation. So much so, that I think a visitor to Lancaster would find himself well inclined to stay, and whatever his prepossessions might be in favor of other pleasant scenes, in the language of the old Yorkist lover to his mistress would—"Turn Lancaster there."

TOPOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL
SKETCHES
OF THE
TOWN OF LANCASTER,
IN THE

Commonwealth of Massachusetts:

FURNISHED FOR THE

WORCESTER MAGAZINE

AND

Historical Journal.

BY JOSEPH WILLARD.

WORCESTER:

PRINTED FOR THE PROPRIETORS, BY CHARLES GRIFFIN.

1826..

HISTORY OF LANCASTER.

IN giving a sketch of the history of Lancaster, I labor under serious disadvantages. Those valuable sources of information, the records, are quite imperfect: the records of the Church till the time of Rev. Mr. Prentice in 1708, are lost; while those of the town extend no further back, than 1725; the first volume having unaccountably disappeared, more than forty years since. After much exertion, I have been able, only in part, to supply these deficiencies, from various and distant quarters; and from the books of the proprietors, in which are preserved some valuable materials: but even here there is a lamentable hiatus from 1671, to 1717, including King Williams' war, of eight, and Queen Ann's war, of eleven years.

After giving the topography, present state &c. of the town, I shall touch upon its civil and ecclesiastical history.

The town of Lancaster is situated in the north part of the County of Worcester, about 33 miles west from Boston,* and 15 miles nearly north from Worcester.

BOUNDARIES.—The general boundaries of the town are as follows, viz. north by Shirley and Lunenburgh, west by Leominster and Sterling, south by Boylston and Berlin, and east by Berlin, Bolton and Harvard. The general direction of the town, in length, is northeast and southwest. The average length, is nine and eleven sixteenth miles; the greatest length nine and fifteen sixteenths, de-

* The distance was till the last year, 35 miles. The great alterations in the road, especially through Stow, and the new road from Watertown to Cambridge, make a difference of two miles.

duced from an accurate map.* It was originally laid out for ten miles, and this slight variation of one sixteenth of a mile, was probably owing to an error, in the original survey, which will be mentioned in the sequel; a less error it is supposed than was usual in such ancient measurements. The breadth, is very irregular; it varies from $4\frac{3}{4}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

ROADS, MAILS, &c.—The public roads extend over 600 acres of land. The principal road, is the one leading from Boston, through Leominster, to Greenfield and Brattleborough: and another branch of it through Sterling, to Barre, Greenfield, &c. The mail arrives and departs daily, excepting on Sunday: thirty two mails are opened and closed, and the various stage coaches pass and repass the same number of times, in the course of each week. There is a short turnpike road which begins in Bolton, and terminates in Lancaster, a mile north of the church.

SOIL, PRODUCTIONS, &c.—The town contains twenty thousand two hundred and eight acres of land. Of this three thousand acres, no inconsiderable part of the whole, are intervale, and about seventeen hundred, by estimate, are covered with water. Much of the soil is deep and rich. The light lands, produce large quantities of rye, barley, oats, &c. while the better part of the upland, and all the intervalles, are well adapted to Indian corn, the potatoe, grass, and indeed to every kind of cultivation, with but comparatively little labor. The intervalle, in particular, yields largely, and rewards the husbandman, many fold, for the little care he is obliged to take of it.

Its fertility, is owing to the annual overflowings of the river, when the ice and snow melt in the spring. The waters become turbid by the rapidity of the current, and the earth, that is washed into its bosom, is deposited on the land, and serves all the good purposes of every kind of manure. These freshes, undoubtedly, sometimes occasion much immediate injury: for by reason of the elevation of the country in which the river has its sources, and through which it passes, the stream rises rapidly, and is borne along to the valley of the Nashaway,† by an accelerated and furious cur-

* Made by order of the General Court in 1799. I have followed the advice of a valued friend, and have omitted the boundaries, by degrees, rods, stakes, stones, &c.

† It will be observed that I spell the word Nashaway; it is a better word than Nashua, the modern attestation, or refinement, as some may think it. The former, is the ancient reading, the true orthography; for which, I have the authority of Winthrop, Colony Records, Middlesex Records, proprietor's books, &c. from 1643, to a late period. The innovation should be rejected at once, as a corruption.

rent, filled with large cakes of ice, destroying mill dams, and sweeping away bridges, in its destructive course.* In the spring of 1818, it was very busy in the work of ruin: most of the bridges were dashed in pieces by the ice, and none, I believe, escaped uninjured. Since that time, only two bridges have suffered; one in the spring of 1823, called the Centre Bridge, just below the confluence of the two branches of the river, and the other, during the last spring, (1826,) on the south branch, between the first mentioned bridge, and the late Dr. Atherton's residence. But, notwithstanding the numerous losses that have been sustained of old and of late years, they are far outweighed by the annual benefits, which the Nashaway, bestows upon the land.† The principal trees on the uplands, are the ever-green, and oak of the different kinds, the chesnut, maple, &c. on the intervalles, the elm in all its beautiful variety and the walnut.‡ More attention is now paid to the cultivation of fruit trees, than formerly; but it is chiefly confined to the apple, and in fact, to the pear. A strange neglect has ever prevailed, with regard to the delicious summer fruits, as the cherry, peach, plum, apricot, nectarine, garden strawberry, &c. that might be cultivated with but little expense of time or money. No place, within my knowledge, in this state, is better adapted to these fruits; both as it respects the soil, exposure to the sun, and gardens ready made. Some few individuals are beginning to think of these things, and to set out trees: and probably in a few years, these articles of luxury that may be so cheaply obtained, will be more generally attended to. At present, excepting a few tolerable, and some intolerable cherries, and a few wild strawberries, &c. we have nothing, deserving the name of summer fruit. A few sorry peaches, the growth of other places, perhaps I should mention, are occasionally sold in town.

SURFACE OF THE COUNTRY, &c.—The general surface is undulating, with no very high or steep ascents. The principal eminence,

* The damage to bridges in 1818, amounted to \$1639 71.

† Whitney says that "the river overflows the whole interval twice in a year, in the spring, and in autumn." However, this may have been in his day, it is not so in this nineteenth century.

‡ Of the Shagbark kind. Much attention was paid by some of the principal inhabitants, some seventy years since, in ornamenting different spots, with the elm, and we, of the present day, enjoy the beauty, and the shade. The present age is less considerate in this respect. Dumbiedikes' advice to his son is disregarded—"Jock, when ye hae naething else to do, ye may be aye sticking in a tree; it will be growing, Jock, when ye're sleeping. My father tauld me sae forty years sin', but I ne'er fand time to mind him."

is called George hill;* a fertile and delightful ridge, extending about two miles from southwest to northeast, on the west side of the town. Nearly parallel with this and rising gently from the river which skirts it on all sides but the north, is what is frequently termed the Neck. Not far from its extremity, towards the south west, is the centre of the town. The prospect to the east, is confined by the range of hills in Harvard and Bolton, beyond the intervale. To the west, beyond the intervale on that side, appears the whole length of George hill, and as the eye passes over its fine outlines, and gentle ascent, it rests upon the Wachusett as the back ground of the picture. The walnut tree, and the majestic elm are scattered in pleasing irregularity over the wide spreading intervale. The variety of foliage, of light and shade, and the frequent changes of tints, shadow out a landscape, that never fails to charm all who are alive to natural beauties. The prospect is equally inviting from George hill, and from the hill on the road to Sterling.

* The southern part of this hill, is the highest and in some points of view, may pass for a distinct hill. Tradition says, it took its name from an Indian, called by the English, George; who once had his wigwam there. The name I first find in the proprietor's records, is under the date of Feb. 1671.

† There is a number of different species of the elm in Lancaster. One kind is very tall, the branches high and spread but little. In another the branches shoot out lower upon the trunk, and extend over a much larger space. A third kind resembles in some measure the first, in form, excepting that the trunk is entirely covered with twigs thickly set with leaves, and forming a rich green covering to the rough bark, from the ground to the large branches. Many of these elms are of great size: The following are the dimensions of a few of them, measured by Mr. George Carter and myself, in July, 1826.

One on the Boston road, between the house of the late Dr. Atherton and the last bridge on the south branch of the Nashaway, measured in circumference twenty six feet at the roots. Another on the old common, so called, and near the burying ground, twenty five feet five inches at the roots; eighteen feet at two feet from the ground, and fourteen feet ten inches, at four feet from the ground; the diameter of the circular area and of its branches, measured ninety eight feet. A third, southeast from centre bridge, and near what was formerly called the neck bridge, was twenty six feet six inches at the roots, and twenty feet, at four feet from the ground. A fourth, a little to the south west of the entrance to centre road, and some fifty rods south of the church, twenty four feet at the roots, and fifteen feet, at four feet from the ground. This tree, when very small was taken up and transplanted between ninety and one hundred years ago by the late Col. Abijah Willard. We also measured a sycamore tree, a little to the southwest of centre bridge and found its circumference at the ground, twenty five feet, and at four feet from the ground, eighteen feet. The height of this tree, must be about one hundred feet. There are also some large and beautiful elms in front and on one side of the Rev. Dr. Thayer's house. They were all set out by his immediate predecessor the Rev. Mr. Harrington. The two largest measure fifteen and fourteen feet at the ground. On the farm of Mr. Jonathan Wilder, on the old common so called, there is a beech tree which measures eleven feet. It is upwards of a century old. A tree of this kind, and size, is very rare in this part of the country.

There is an appearance, occasionally on a summer evening that struck me forcibly the first time I beheld it. When the vapours are condensed and the moon is up, the whole expanse of the valley, appears like one broad sheet of water just below you, and extending as far as the eye can reach, in distinct vision. The tops of the tall trees, as they appear above the mists, look like little islands, dotting the broad bay. The illusion is perfect, without borrowing largely from the imagination.

MINERALS, &c.—More than seventy years ago, a large slate quarry was discovered, by a Mr. Flagg, near Cumberly pond, in the north part of the town. The slates were in use, as early as 1752 or 1753, and, after the revolutionary war, were sent in great numbers to Boston, and to the atlantic states,* and formed quite an article of commerce. For many years past, however, the quarry has not been worked. The slates, I believe, though always considered as of an excellent quality, could not at least come in successful competition with those imported from Wales, &c, on account of the expense of transportation. The water is now quite deep in the quarry.

The minerals, according to Dr. Robinson, are the following.—viz. *Andalusite*, reddish brown, in a rolled mass of white quartz, and on George hill in transition mica slate. *Macle*, abundant on George hill and elsewhere. *Earthy Marl*, an extensive bed, in New Boston, so called. *Pinite*, in clay slate: also, green and purple *pinite*, fine specimens on George hill in granite. *Spodumene*, fine specimens, in various parts of the town. *Fibrolite*, abundant in mica slate. *Phosphate of lime*, on George hill, in small hexahedral prisms in a spodumene rock, of about two tons in weight. Peat in the swamps and low lands, in the south west part of the town.†

STREAMS AND OTHER BODIES OF WATER.—The largest stream that flows through the town, and indeed the largest, and most important

* Whitney says, "great numbers of them are used in Boston every year." This was in 1793.

† A Catalogue of American minerals, with their localities &c. by Samuel Robinson, M. D. Boston, 1825. The marl, mentioned above, is found in great abundance. It extends in strata, from the neighborhood, of Messrs. Poignand & Plant, through New Boston, almost to the middle of the town. Though very valuable as a manure it is but little used. Probably individuals are not fully sensible of its enriching qualities. Mr. John Low, who has made use of it for some years, on light soils, has assured me that it increases the product nearly one half. The few others who have tried it, are abundantly satisfied of its great service.

in the County, is the river Nashaway, formed by the junction of two branches.* The north branch rises from the springs in Ashburnham, and from Wachusett pond in Westminster, and passing through Fitchburg and Leominster, enters the town on the west. The south branch has two sources, one from Rocky pond on the east side of the Wachusett, the other from Quinepoxet pond, in Holden. These unite in West Boylston, and enter the town on the south. The two main branches, after pursuing a devious course for many miles, unite near the centre of the town, south east from the church. There are a few small streams that issue from Oak hill, Mossy, and Sandy ponds, all of which find their way to the river. The streams fed by the two latter ponds unite, and between their junction and the river, are situated the works of the Lancaster Cotton Manufacturing Company.

Besides the rivers, there are ten ponds in Lancaster, viz :

	<i>Acres.</i>		<i>Acres.</i>
Turner's pond	30	Oak hill pond	15
Fort do.	100	Cumberry do.	13
Part of White's do.	80	Clamshell do.	50
Great Spectacle do.	115	Sandy do.	55
Little do. do.	21	Mossy do.	55

Whitney relates, that the "water in Cumberry pond is observed to rise as much as two feet, just before a storm," and that "Sandy pond, rises in a dry time." However pleasing it may be to believe these things true, and to have some phenomena of natural philosophy in one's own neighborhood, I cannot venture to confirm them, but contrarywise, must set them down, after inquiry, as fabulous. There are various springs in town; from three of them on George hill, the village situated a mile south west from the church, is bountifully supplied with water, by means of an aqueduct consisting of leaden pipes that extend in different directions and branches, more than two miles.†

BRIDGES.—There are no less than seven bridges over the Nashaway supported by the town, besides one half of the bridge leading to Harvard. A bridge over the turupike road, supported by the cor-

* The first Inhabitants early gave to the north branch, the name of north river, the south branch they called Nashaway, and the main river, after the junction of the two streams, which is now properly the Nashaway, they named Penecook. I find Penecook used in the town records as late as 1736, and north river, in a deed dated 1744.

† A company was organized last winter by virtue of Stat. 1798, chap. 59. The whole expense of the work, was not far from \$2000.

poration, and one or more private bridges, complete the number. Great expenses, as will readily be supposed, have been hitherto incurred in maintaining so many bridges—greater, indeed, than were necessary. It has, till lately, been usual to build them with piers resting upon mud sills, inviting ruin in their very construction; for the ice freezing closely round the piers, the water upon the breaking up of the river in spring, works its way underneath the ice, which forms a compact body under the bridge, raises the whole fabric, which thus loosened from its foundations, is swept away by the accumulative force of the large cakes of ice that become irresistible by the power of a very rapid current. A better and by far more secure style of building has lately been adopted, and from its great superiority, will doubtless gain general favor and supercede the old method. Two bridges on the improved plan, each consisting of a single arch, have been constructed; one in June, 1823, near “the meeting of the waters,” and the other in June, 1826, just above, on the south branch of the river.* They are entirely out of the reach of the spring tide fury, and though more expensive at first, their durability will prove their true economy.

MILLS, TRADES, MANUFACTURES, &c.—Lancaster contains five saw mills, three grist mills, two fulling and dressing mills, one carding machine, one nailfactory, two lathes, turned by water, and two brick yards. There are also four wheelwrights, two tanners, ten shoemakers, one saddle and harness maker, two cabinet makers, one clock and watch maker, six blacksmiths, three white smiths, one gunsmith, one baker, one bookseller, one apothecary, one stone cutter, one cooper and one hatter. The business of printing maps, is very extensively carried on by Messrs. Horatio and George Carter. About 250,000 are annually struck off, and supply a great number of the schools in every part of the United States. In the various departments of this business, viz. printing, coloring, binding &c. fifteen persons are usually employed. There are fifteen or sixteen establishments for making combs, in which fifty persons, at least, are employed. The annual sales of this article are from fifteen to twenty thousand dollars. In consequence of the great im-

* The bridges vary in length from seventy to one hundred feet. The arched bridges were constructed on a plan furnished by Mr. Farnham Plummer, an ingenious mechanic of this town. The chords of the arches are ninety eight feet six inches and seventy feet respectively.

provement in machinery,* within a few years, double the quantity of this article is now manufactured, with a considerable deduction in price.

The foundation of the Lancaster Cotton Factory, was begun in the fall of 1809, on a small stream, which empties into the south branch of the Nashaway. There are two large buildings, one for carding and spinning, with eight hundred and ninety six spindles; the other for weaving, with thirty two looms, which are equal to delivering two hundred thousand yards of four fourths sheeting of two qualities, viz. No. 18 and 25, in a year. The stream on which the buildings are erected, is fed from swamps and powerful and never failing springs, which are supposed to have their sources in Mossy and Sandy ponds. From the situation of the factories the fall in the bed of the stream is secured, upwards of a mile. This fall in the whole is about sixty two feet. The present improved mode of spinning, by means of circular spindle boxes, was first put in operation in this establishment: and one of the managers was the inventor of the picker for cleaning cotton, with two beaters, now in general use in all well conducted establishments of the kind. The resident managers are Messrs. Poignand and Plant, who are assiduous in their business. Probably no establishment of the same kind and extent, is under better regulations, or is managed to greater advantage.

POT AND PEARLASH.—The manufacture of pot and pearlashes was undertaken in Lancaster, at an earlier period than in any other part of America. I cannot state the precise time; but as early as 1755, these works were in operation.

In that year, Joseph Wilder, Jr. Esq. and Col. Caleb Wilder, sent in a petition to the General Court, that they “have acquired the art of making pot and pearlashes, and that they cannot ship them, because no assay master has been appointed.” The business was carried on quite extensively, for many years. Col. Wilder was chiefly interested, and the quality of the article made by him was so good, that after other similar works were established, his manufacture, was the most valued.

* The improved machine was an invention of Mr. Farnham Plummer of this town. It will cut one hundred and twenty dozen side combs, in a day. It cuts out two combs, from a square piece of horn, at the same time. The circular saw which was previously used, cuts but one tooth at a time. Capt. Asabel Harris, an intelligent man, who deals largely in this business, assures me that the new machine, is a saving of nearly one half in point of time, that it saves also a third part of the stock, besides much hard labor. It can be so constructed as to cut combs of any size.

At one time the quantity sold annually, was as high as one hundred and fifty tons of pearlash, and eighty of potash. After his death his son Levi Wilder conducted the business, nearly to the time of his own decease, in 1793. Other individuals,* have at various times paid attention to this business, subsequent to Col. Wilder; but now it is only a matter of history in this place.

STORES, &c.—There are in Lancaster five public houses, six stores, containing English and fancy goods, &c. and in five of them the usual supply of West India goods.

LIBRARIES.—The private libraries in this town are not very numerous. There are, in all of them, about three thousand volumes. The books in general, are well selected, there being but little trashy matter.

A social library now containing nearly four hundred volumes, most of them valuable, was established in the year 1790.

To supply a want that was felt by many, a number of subscribers joined together in the autumn of 1821, and established a Reading Room. The principal and primary object was, to procure the most valuable periodical publications, and such miscellaneous works of the day, as possessed a good reputation. It was supposed that in this way, a taste for reading might increase, and that whatever should be done to extend and elevate the love of letters, would equally tend to raise the tone of society. The original plan has of late been somewhat enlarged, as the establishment gained favor and began to promise to be permanent. Besides the class of works contemplated at first, books are now admitted from time to time, whose fame survives the day, books that have already a standard character. The success of the undertaking has probably surpassed general expectation. The annual increase of the library† of the Reading Room is not far from one hundred volumes. The whole number, at present, is about three hundred: and the increase has been greater during the last and present year, than at any earlier period, during the same length of time.

SCHOOLS AND ACADEMY.—For a few years subsequent to the Revolutionary war and occasionally, before, the Grammar School was kept the whole year, in the centre of the town.‡ This arrange-

* Dr. Wm. Dunsmoor, Dr. James Carter, Mr. Oliver Carter and others.

† It consists of Reviews, works of fiction, poetry, history, voyages, travels, biography, &c.

‡ A few historical data, relating to schools, may not be without interest. In 1729, there were three schools, viz. on the Neck, (near the present town

ment did not last long : it was supposed that the requisitions of the law could be answered in a way that would bring a fractional part of this school, almost to every man's door. It was therefore soon

house) at Wattaquaduck, (now in Bolton,) and at Bear hill, (now in Harvard.) In 1731, these schools were kept as follows, viz. Bear hill 82 days, Wattaquaduck, 104, Neck, 177. 1736, on petition of Ebenezer Beman and others, it was voted, that the school should be kept at divers houses in the north part of the town : so also in the southwest part of the town. In 1742, three new school houses were built : this was after the incorporation of Harvard and Bolton. One of them was in Chocksett (Sterling) and the other two in Lancaster proper. The old school house on the Neck, above mentioned, was given to Rev. Mr. Prentice for a stable!! 1757, voted, that the grammar school be kept in each precinct, (Lancaster and Sterling) "according to what they pay." The reading and writing schools to be kept in the extreme parts of the town, five months in the winter. 1762, voted to give leave to Col. Abijah Willard and others, to build a school house on the town land, below the Meeting house in the first parish. 1764, on petition of Levi Willard, Esq. and others, voted, that the grammar school for the year ensuing be kept in the middle of the town, provided they build a school house, and support the school for the year, after the amount of their taxes has been appropriated for that purpose.

In 1767, the grammar school was kept seven months in the first, and five months, in the second precinct : in 1771-72-73-78, one half of the year in each. In 1789, the grammar school was kept on nearly the same plan as in 1764 ; so in 1789. In 1790 voted, to build a school house opposite to Gen. Greenleaf's. Wm. Stedman, Esq. now occupies the Greenleaf house.

The following are some of the school masters. 1724, Edward Broughton, 1725, do. 1726 Mr. Flagg, afterwards Rev. Ebenezer Flagg, of Chester, N. H. graduated 1725 ; 1727, Henry Houghton, Jonathan Moore, Samuel Carter ; 1729, Samuel Willard, Esq. (Judge C. C. Pleas,) Thomas Prentice, (who graduated 1726, afterwards minister in Charlestown,) Mr. Bryant and Jabez Fox. Josiah Swan was a veteran schoolmaster : I find him as early as 1733, and through many intermediate years, beginning with 1751, to 1767 inclusive. Mr. Swan was of Lancaster, and graduated at Cambridge, in 1733. In May 1755, he was admitted a member of Rev. Mr. Prentice's church, and it may be, pursued his theological studies under the direction of Mr. P. He was settled in Dunstable, N. H. 1739, dismissed in 1746, in consequence of a division of the town, by running the line between New Hampshire and Massachusetts. He remained there a few years, then returned to this town ; afterwards went to Walpole, N. H. where he died. 2 Mass. Hist. Col. 55. 1736, Josiah Brown and Thomas Prentice.

Mr. Brown was probably a graduate at Harvard University that year or 1735. He kept school for a number of subsequent years, and as late as 1765. 1744, Brown and Stephen Frost. There was a Stephen Frost, of the class of 1739, at Cambridge. 1746, Edward Bass of the class of 1744 : afterwards the first bishop of Massachusetts. 1747, Bass and Joseph Palmer, who was afterwards a clergyman, graduated at Cambridge, 1747. 1749-50, Edward Phelps. 1752, Abel Willard, Esq. of the class of 1752, at Cambridge. Samuel Locke, Jr. afterwards Rev. Samuel Locke, S. T. D. &c. President of Harvard University. He graduated at Cambridge, in 1755. The late President Adams graduated the same year. 1756, Hezekiah Gates, an inhabitant of Lancaster and a useful citizen. 1757-8-9 Moses Hemenway, afterwards Rev. Moses Hemenway, S. T. D. class of 1755, and minister of Wells, in Maine. 1758, Mr. Warren, the celebrated General, who was killed at Bunker's Hill. He graduated in 1759. 1762, Mr. Parker, a graduate at Cambridge. 1762, Israel Atherton, of the class of that year, M. M. S. Soc. for many years after a distinguished physician in Lancaster, and the first physician of liberal

voted, that it should be kept in different parts of the town, in the course of each year, for the convenience of those who lived in remote places. Both the spirit and the letter of the law, were misunderstood, and the most important advantages intended to be secured by it, were lost. The Latin Grammar School, after lingering some years in a doubtful state of existence, was discontinued a few years previous to the modification of the law. As much attention, however, it is believed, is paid here to education as in most other places, and we have caught something of the excitement, that is becoming prevalent on this subject. The school law of the last winter, of such manifest importance and usefulness, has already been productive of benefit, and has increased the interest, which every good citizen should take in education. There are twelve school districts in town. The following, is taken from the return of the school committee, to the General Court, in May last.

Amount paid for public instruction,	\$1005
Amount paid for private instruction,	50
Tuition fees at the Academy,	600
Time of keeping school in the year, six months in each district.	
Males of the various ages specified in the law,	351
Females do.	349

Total, 700

In this number the pupils at the Academy are not included.

Number of persons over 14 unable to read and write—None.

Number prevented by expenses of school books, None.

education in the County of Worcester. 1762, Joseph Willard, afterwards Rev. Joseph Willard, S. T. D. L. L. D. &c. and late President of Harvard University; graduated at Cambridge, 1765. 1764-65-66, Ensign Mann, a graduate at Cambridge, in 1764. 1765, Brown, probably a graduate at Cambridge, Joseph Bullard, Frederick Albert, Mr. Hutchinson, probably of the class of 1762, and Peter Green, now living in Concord, N. H. aged 91, and still active in his profession as a physician, class of 1766, M. M. S. Hon. 1766, John Warner, Robert Fletcher. 1767, Josiah Wilder, probably Dr. Wilder of Lancaster.

It seems that a large proportion of the instructors I have mentioned, received a public education. At the present day, it is far otherwise in this place.

I will close this long note, with the mention of the amount of money raised for schools for a number of years. 1726 to 30, £50. 1739, (after Harvard and Bolton were incorporated) to 1742, £80. 1755, £50 lawful money. 1764, and to 1769, £100. 1769, £104. 1778, and 9, £200 depreciated currency. 1781, £8000, old emission. 1782 and 3, £80. 1784, £100. 1804 and 1805, \$400, for Latin and Grammar school the year through, in the centre of the town, \$600, for English. 1810, \$1056 in all. 1815, \$1000, and for a number of years past, \$1095. Regular school committees have been chosen annually since 1794.

Some years since, many of the inhabitants felt desirous of affording their children more abundant opportunities of instruction, than could be obtained at the public schools, which, it cannot be expected, will ever be kept the year through in the various districts. In order to secure a permanent school, a number of gentlemen from this and the neighboring towns, associated together, and established an Academy early in the summer of 1815. Few institutions of the kind have probably ever done more good. Many have already been taught there,* who, but for its establishment, would have been much less favored, in their opportunities for learning. The building used for the school being inconveniently situated, at some distance from the centre of the town, an effort was made in April last, to obtain a subscription to erect a new building, in the centre of the town. A large and ample sum was obtained in town for this purpose, with but little difficulty. The land just south of the church was given by Messrs. Horatio and George Carter, who, with their brothers, have also subscribed most liberally, to the undertaking. A new and very tasteful building of brick, two stories in height, with a cupola and bell, is nearly completed. The situation is well chosen: a fine common in front is thrown open, and a beautiful view of the valley and rising grounds, particularly to the west, renders the spot delightful. It is intended to add to the present school, a distinct and permanent school for females, in the second story of the building. This indeed is a highly important part of the new plan; for it is believed, that if society is to make great advances in future, it must be by improving the means of female education; and that the progress of society in learning, refinement and virtue, is in proportion to the cultivation of the female mind. An act of incorporation has been applied for; a bill for that purpose passed the Senate at the last session of the General Court, and, without much question, will pass the House, next winter. The Academy thus far has had the advantage of able instructors: the following are their names, viz.

SILAS HOLMAN—M. D. Cambridge, 1816, now a physician in Gardiner, Maine. He kept but a few months in the summer of 1815.

* Mr. Frederick Wilder a graduate at Cambridge, in 1825, and son of Mr. Jonathan Wilder of this town, was educated at this academy. He died at Northampton, in the winter of 1826. He was full of promise; he possessed a mind of a high order and a heart filled with every good feeling and virtue. No one was ever more generally beloved; the highest rank seemed to await him, whatever path of study he might incline to pursue. Death has destroyed bright prospects and deprived the world of the good influences that a leading and pure mind ever exercise in society.

JARED SPARKS, Tutor Harvard University, 1817 to 1819, afterwards clergyman in Baltimore. Now editor of the North American Review, in Boston. Graduated at Harvard University, 1815. He was the preceptor from the summer of 1815, one year.

JOHN W. PROCTOR, Preceptor from summer of 1816, one year; graduated at Harvard University, 1816; now Attorney and Counselor at Law, in Danvers.

GEORGE B. EMERSON, From summer of 1817, two years; graduated at Harvard University, 1817, and Tutor from 1819 to 1821; for some time Preceptor of the English Classical school, and now of a private school, in Boston.

SOLOMON P. MILES, from 1819 to 1821, August two years; graduated at Harvard University, 1819, and Tutor 1821 to 1823, now preceptor of the high (English Classical) school, in Boston.

NATHANIEL WOOD, from 1821 to 1823, two years; graduated at Harvard University 1821, Tutor 1823 to 1824, now a student at law, in Boston.

LEVI FLETCHER, from August 1823, to the fall of 1824; graduated at Harvard University, 1823, now Chaplain on board the United States frigate Macedonian.

NATHANIEL KINGSBURY, from the fall of 1824, of the class of 1821; left college during the third year and went to the island of Cuba. He is the preceptor at this time.

Under the present preceptor, the Academy sustains a high character for discipline and instruction. By the new arrangement, the inconveniences that are too apt to occur by the frequent change of teachers will be avoided. The situation of principal of the Academy, is to be a permanent one, as far as is practicable.

POOR.—The support of the poor, formed for some years no inconsiderable part of the annual tax. They were dispersed in different families, in various parts of the town, among those who would support them at the least expense to the town. Too often, and as a natural effect of this wretched system, the lot of these unfortunate persons was cast among individuals, themselves but little removed from absolute poverty. The system too, if such it could be called, was clumsy extravagance; the highest price was paid for the support of the poor, and the treatment of poverty appeared like the punishment of crime.* In view of these things,

* Various attempts, from the year 1763, to the present century, have been made, to establish a work-house, but without success, till the late effort.

the town purchased two years since, a large farm, as an establishment for all whose circumstances compelled them to seek public support. It is under the care of an attentive overseer. Each individual able to work has his appropriate duties suited to his age and capacity. Comfort, economy, and humanity are there united. Religious services are performed at stated times, and the children who never before received any instruction, are now regularly sent to school. In a moral point of view, this establishment is a public blessing—it prevents much immediate suffering, and much prospective ignorance and vice.* The actual expense for the support of the poor, which formerly was as high as \$1200, will not, in future, exceed \$500.

POPULATION.—What little I can gather of the number of Inhabitants, at certain periods, in the seventeenth century, will be mentioned, subsequently, in the civil history of this plantation. Excepting this, there is no way of ascertaining the population earlier than 1764.

CENSUS.—1764—1862 Inhabitants, 328 families. This was after Harvard and Bolton were incorporated.

1790—1460 Inhabitants, 214 houses. This was after Sterling was incorporated; which contained by the census of the same year 1428 inhabitants, making the population of both places 2888, an increase of 1062, in 26 years, viz. from 1764 to 1790.

1800	1524	Inhabitants.
1810	1694	do.
1820	1862	do.

During the period of commercial restrictions, and the last war, and for a few years subsequent, the population it appears increased but little. Many persons emigrated to the state of New York, to the west of the Alleghany mountains, and to other parts of the country, in search of the promised land. The business of the town, much affected by this state of things, has of late, materially increased, and is now greater than at any former period. The population at the present time, may be estimated at 2100. The number of rata-

* It is chiefly to the exertions of the Rev. Mr. Packard, that the town is indebted for this establishment. He first suggested the plan in this place, and labored diligently to have it adopted. It is no slight praise, to have served with effect the cause of humanity.

In 1786, the selectmen were ordered to bind out poor children, to the end, that the rising generation, may not be brought up in idleness, ignorance, and vice.

ble poles, at this time, is 422. The militia is composed of three companies, viz. the standing company, one of Light Infantry, raised at large, and one of Artillery. There is besides a part of a company of Cavalry within the limits of the town. The whole number of soldiers, is somewhat over two hundred.

BIRTHS AND DEATHS.—The progress of population, compared with the losses might be very satisfactorily ascertained by accurate lists of births and deaths, for any given period. Some negligence prevails here, as well as elsewhere, in furnishing the Town Clerk with information on the subject. The following list, however, may be considered as nearly correct.

BIRTHS.		BIRTHS.		DEATHS.		DEATHS.	
1810	38 ₁	1817	39	1810	31	1817	26
1811	42	1818	42	1811	17	1818	26
1812	40	1819	34	1812	31	1819	20
1813	40	1820	29	1813	25	1820	21
1814	36	1821	29	1814	29	1821	15
1815	49	1822	31	1815	26	1822	28
1816	39	Total 488		1816	22	Total 317*	

Deaths in the Congregational Society since the settlement of Rev. Dr. Thayer, October 9, 1793, to August 1, 1826, six hundred and fifty six. Of this number one hundred forty were over seventy ; and sixty six of the one hundred and forty four, over eighty years of age. The family of Osgoods, shows remarkable ages.

Joseph Osgood died, aged 77	
his wife	92
Jerusha	96
Martha	92
Joel	75

432

Making an average, each, of eighty six years and nearly five months.

The following is a list of the ages of Deacon Josiah White and his family.

Josiah the father, 90. His wife, 84.

Their Children.

Mary,	86	Martha,	94
-------	----	---------	----

* The statement of deaths is taken from a comparison of the Church and town records, and is perhaps quite correct. The births are only in the town records, and making a reasonable addition, for names omitted, the number may be estimated at more than five hundred.

Jonathan,	80	Joseph,	60
Hannah,	77	Joanna,	75
Abigail, -	86	Jotham,	87
Josiah,	94	Silence,	75
Ruth,	40	John,	91
		Elisha,	90

Making an average of eighty years, seven months and six days.

A few other remarkable ages may gratify the curious.

	DIED.		DIED.
Adams Sarah	1802 81	Phelps Edward	1784 90
Atherton Israel Dr.	1822 82	Priest Elizabeth	1798 84
his wife, Rebecca	1823 86	" Joseph	1798 83
Baldwin Keziah	1815 91	Pollard John	1814 85
Divol Manassah	1797 82	Rugg John	1799 85
" Ephraim	1798 84	" Jane	1805 93
Divoll Elizabeth	1813 93	Robbins Bathsheba	1805 85
Fletcher Mary	1813 86	Rugg Zeruah	1807 86
Fletcher Joshua	1814 90	" Lydia	1807 91
Fletcher Rebecca	1820 92	Sawyer Josiah	1801 82
Fuller Edward	1802 85	Simmons Micah	1817 83
Houghton Elij. Capt.	1810 82	Stone Isaac	1816 93
" Alice	1808 83	Tenny Rebecca	1802 81
Joslyn Mary	1825 88	Thurston Priscilla	1811 83
" Samuel	1826 88	White John Capt.	1797 83
Jones Mary	1805 85	Wheelock Martha	1802 94
Leach Mary	1818 86	Wilder Martha	1811 94
Nichols Joseph	1826 82	Wilder Samuel	1824 81
Phelps Asahel	1812 86	Willard Simon	1825 97
Priest John	1797 88	Wilder Ephm. Capt.	1769 94
Phelps Joshua	1784 84		

CIVIL HISTORY.—The first settlement of Lancaster goes far back in the early history of Massachusetts. It was the tenth town, incorporated in the County of Middlesex, and precedes, by many years, every town now within the limits of the County of Worcester. Indeed, no town, so far from the sea coast, was incorporated so early, excepting Springfield; Northampton was in 1651: Chelmsford, Billerica and Groton, in 1655, Marlborough, in 1660, and Mendon, in 1667.

According to Winthrop, an incontrovertible authority in these things, the plantation at Nashaway was undertaken sometime in

1643.* The whole territory around, was in subjection to Sholan, or Shaumaw, Sachem of the Nashaways, and whose residence was at Waushacum,† now Sterling. Sholan occasionally visited Watertown, for the purpose of trading with Mr. Thomas King, who resided there. He recommended Nashawogg to King, as a place well suited for a plantation, and invited the English to come and dwell near him.

From this representation, or from personal observation, that nature had been bountiful to the place, King united with a number of others,‡ and purchased the land of Sholan, viz. ten miles in length, and eight in breadth; stipulating not to molest the Indians in their

* Gov. Winthrop's history of New England, date, 3d month, (May) 1644, and relating events that preceded that time. I have cited the passage, see post—Rev. Mr. Harrington states the purchase to have been made in 1645: but the authority of Winthrop is not to be questioned. Rev. Dr. Holmes gives the same year as Gov. Winthrop.

† The orthography of this word is very various. Harrington spells it as in the text; in other parts of Worcester Magazine, it is different: Gookin in his historical collections of the Indians, writes "Weshakim." 1 Mass. Hist. Col. I Vol. "Wehecum" says Roger Williams, is the Indian for sea. Key to Indian languages, Chap. 13.

A. D. 1643. Winthrop says that "Nashacowam and Wassamagoin two Sachems, near the great hill to the west called Warehasset, (Wachusett,) came into the court, and according to their former tender to the Governor, desired to be received under our protection and government, &c. so we causing them to understand the ten commandments of God and they freely assenting to all, they were solemnly received and then presented by the court with twenty fathoms more of Wampum, and the court gave each of them a coat of two yards of cloth, and their dinner; and to them and their men, every of them a cup of sack at their departure, so they took their leave and went away very joyful." Coats and dinners and sack, were wonderful persuasives with the Indians. Was not "Nashacowam," the same with Sholan?

‡ John Prescott, Harmon Garrett, Thomas Skidmore, Mr. Stephen Day, Mr. Symonds, &c. Here Mr. Harrington in his century sermon stops. Who are meant by &c. it is impossible to ascertain; perhaps, they may be Gill, Davies and others, mentioned subsequently in the text. Of those first mentioned, a few gleanings may not be without interest. Prescott came from Watertown: Garrett probably from Charlestown. He never moved to Lancaster. Two thousand acres of land, were mortgaged to him by Jethro the christian Indian, and laid out to Garrett, near Assabeth river, in 1651. There were two or more of the name of Garrett at this time in New England. Where Harmon lived, I do not discover. An Indian of the same name, lived in Rhode Island. 3 Mass. Hist. Col. I. 221. Skidmore is mentioned in Boston Records, as of Cambridge, in 1643. Day was of Cambridge, and the first Printer in America. In 1639, he set up a printing press at Cambridge, at the charge of Rev. Joseph Glover, who died on his passage to this country. The press was soon after, under the management of Samuel Greene. Day occasionally visited the plantation at Nashaway. He was of Cambridge in 1652-'53, and in '57. In the last, year the General Court, on his complaint that he had not been compensated for his printing press, granted him three hundred acres of land. Also, in 1667, they allowed him to procure of the Sagamore of Nashaway, one hundred and fifty acres of upland, and twenty of meadow. If he ever lived at Nashaway, he probably came in 1665. The

hunting, fishing, or planting places. This deed was sanctioned by the General Court.* It was probably not a common thing for towns to be settled under such favorable circumstances; not only was there a fair contract made, satisfactory on all sides; but a previous invitation, in the feeling of friendship, was given to induce the English, to extend their population, to the valley of the Nashaway. The precise time of the removal to Lancaster, cannot be ascertained. The first building was a trucking house, erected by Symonds and King, about a mile southwest of the church, and a little to the north west of the house of the late Samuel Ward, Esq. King never moved up, but sold his interest to the other proprietors, who covenanted with each other, to begin the plantation at a certain time. To secure their purchase, they directed certain individuals,† to whom lots were given, to commence the settlement immediately, and make preparations for the general coming of the proprietors. Winthrop gives the following marked account of the first settlement. "3d mo. (May) 1644. Many of Watertown, and other towns, joined in the plantation at Nashaway; and having called a young man, a *universal* scholar, one Mr. Nocroff (quere Norcross?‡) to be their minister, seven§ of them, who were no members of any churches, were desirous to gather into a church estate; but the magistrates and elders, advised them first to go and build them habitations, &c. (for there was yet no house there,) and then to take some that were members of other churches, with the consent of such churches, as had formerly been done, and so proceed orderly. But the persons interested in this plantation, being most of them poor men, and some of them corrupt in judgment, and others profane, it went on very town, in Feb. 1654, O. S.—1655, N. S. granted "Master Day" one hundred acres of upland, twenty of it for a house lot. Symonds never resided here. He was, perhaps, Mr. Samuel Symonds, for some years an assistant; the title "Mr." not then universal, but confined to particular persons, somewhat strengthens this suggestion. King was a proprietor of Marlborough, in 1660.

* This deed, I believe is not, in rebus existentibus. I have diligently searched in Middlesex, and Suffolk records, and in the office of the Secretary of State, without success.

† Richard Linton, Lawrence Waters and John Ball.

‡ This spelling is taken from the old edition of Winthrop; the new edition with its corrected text, and learned notes, by Mr. Savage, does not extend so far. The second volume, however, which will be published in a few months, will reach nearly to the time of Gov. Winthrop's death. Norcross, is an early name in Watertown. "Nocroff," I have never met with.

Mr. Savage says the conjecture is right; he also says, that in the same paragraph of Winthrop; "Universal scholar" should be "University scholar."

§ This number was necessary, according to Johnson's wonder working providence, to constitute a church, in the colony. 2 Mass. Hist. Col. II. 71.

slowly, so that in two years, they had not three houses built there, and he whom they had called to be their minister, left them for their delays."*

It appears further by the records of the General Court 1. 8. 45 (Oct. 1645,) that "upon the petition of the undertakers for the plantation at Nashaway, the Court is willing, that John Gill, Sergeant John Davies,† John Chandler, Isaiah Walker and Matthew Barnes, or any three of them shall have power to set out lots to all the planters belonging to the said plantation, provided that they set not their houses too far asunder; and the great lots to be proportionable to men's estates and charges; and that no man shall have his lot confirmed to him before he has taken the oath of fidelity." These men, however, did nothing to forward the plantation. The General Court felt still unwilling to give up all effort to advance the growth of the place, as appears by the record of a subsequent session: I will recite it, trusting that I shall not be thought too minute in the early, and most interesting portion of the history of the town. It is as follows, viz:

"27, 8, 1647" (Nov. 7, 1647, N. S.‡) "Whereas the Court hath formerly granted a plantation at Nashaway unto Jonathan Chandler, &c. and that Gill is dead, Chandler, Walker, and Davies§ have signified unto the Court, that since the same grant, they have acted nothing as undertakers there, nor laid out any lands, and further have made request to the Court to take in the said grant, manifesting their utter unwillingness to be engaged therein, the Court doth not think fit to destroy the said plantation, but rather to encourage it; only in regard the persons now upon it are so few, and unmeet for such a work, and are to be taken to procure others, and in the

* This does away the imputation in Rev. Mr. Harrington's century sermon, that the minister left them by the instigation of such of the proprietors as disliked removing, or else by his own aversion to the place. Winthrop noted down events day by day, as they occurred. He is distinguished for his accuracy. Mr. Harrington's relation probably was derived from tradition in town. Winthrop's Journal remained in manuscript, till 1790, I believe; of course Mr. Harrington had not access to a correct account of the matter, as his discourse was preached in 1753.

† The same probably who distinguished himself in the Pequot war, 1637. 2. Mass. Hist. Col. VIII. 117; and went against the Nianticks, Hubbard 465, and was sent as one of the commissioners to the Dutch in New York. Ibid, 547.

‡ To speak with more accuracy, the present difference between the Julian and Gregorian year, is twelve days. Before the year 1800, it was eleven days. That year by the calendar of Gregory XIII, the intercalary day was omitted, making the difference twelve days as above stated. Before the calendar was reformed, the year began on the 25th of March, Lady Day, or Annunciation.

§ These names I have not met with, excepting in the above extract from

mean time to remain in the Court's power to dispose of the planting and ordering of it."

It appears, by what has been related, that many circumstances combined to retard the growth of the plantation. All the associates, excepting Prescott, refused to fulfil their contract, though they chose to retain their interest. Linton and Waters* returned to Watertown, where I trace them in 1646, and again to Lancaster in the spring of 1647. Prescott preceded them, and must be recorded as the first permanent inhabitant in Lancaster. This is a clear inference from Mr. Harrington, (p. 11.) John Cowdall of Boston, in his deed, 5. 8 mo. 1647, of a house and twenty acres of land, at Nashaway, made to Jonathan Prescott, calls him late of Watertown. Others soon followed, viz. Sawyer, Atherton, Linton, Waters, &c.

This is as full a sketch of the history of the plantation, previous to 1653, as can be obtained after employing no little diligence.

At that time, the number of families had increased to nine, and on the eighteenth of May of the same year, the town was incorporated by the name of Lancaster.† As this was the first town in the County, in the order of time, it may not be improper to recite some of the provisions of the act of the General Court. They say, "In answer to the petition of the inhabitants of Nashaway, the Court find, according to a former order of the General Court, in 1647, that the ordering of the plantation at Nashaway is wholly in the Court's power."

"Considering that there are already at Nashaway, about nine families; and that several, both freemen and others, intend to go and settle there, some whereof are named in this petition,‡ the Court doth grant them the liberty of a township, and order that henceforth, it shall be called Lancaster, and shall be in the County of Middlesex."

The next provision is to "fix the bounds of the town according the records of the General Court. I do not feel sure that they belong to Lancaster, and on the other hand, have no evidence that they belong to any other plantation. James Savage, Esq. the learned editor of Winthrop, informs me, that this notice in the records is claimed for Weston.

* Lawrence Waters dwelt in Watertown, as far back as 1635.

† At this early period there were no formal acts of incorporation: the course was as in this instance to grant a plantation the liberty of a township, on certain conditions; as making suitable provision for public worship, &c. and when these conditions were complied with, "full liberty of a township according to law," was granted. It is sufficiently correct, for common purposes, to say, that Lancaster was incorporated May 18, 1653, O. S.

‡ This petition, and the names, are, probably, not in existence.

to Sholan's deed, beginning at the wading place, Nashaway river, at the passing over to be the centre; thence running five miles north, five miles south, five miles east, and three miles west, to be surveyed and marked, by a commissioner. Six of the inhabitants, viz. Edward Breck, Nathaniel Hadlock, William Kerley, Thomas Sawyer, John Prescott, and Ralph Houghton, or any four of them whereof the major part are freemen, to be prudential managers of said town, both to see to the allotments of land for planters, in proportion to their estates, and to manage their prudential affairs, till the General Court are satisfied that they have able men, sufficient to conduct the affairs of the plantation; then, to have full liberty of a township according to law." And further, it was permitted all the old possessors, to remain, provided they took the oath of fidelity.

The inhabitants were ordered to take care, that a Godly minister be maintained amongst them, that no evil persons, enemies to the laws of this Commonwealth, in judgment or practice, be admitted as inhabitants, and none to have lots confirmed to them, but such as take the oath of fidelity.

A similar provision to this last, was common in the incorporation of other towns, and shows the great importance that was placed upon religion, and habits of order; that these were conceived to lie at the foundation of all good government, that they reached the highest, mingled with the humblest, and exercised a controlling influence over the whole character of society. The effect of these things in past and present times, is a fruitful subject of discussion,—the effect upon remote generations, permits wide speculation; not however to be indulged in, on the present occasion.

The act of incorporation concludes, with ordering, that the inhabitants remunerate such of the first undertakers, as had been at any expense in the plantation, "provided they make demand in twelve months; and that the interest of Harmon Garrett, and such others of them, who had been at great charge, should be made good in allotments of lands; provided they improve the same, by building and planting within three years after their land is laid out to them. Also that the bounds of the town be laid out, in proportion to eight miles square." In the fall of 1653, (Nov. 30, O. S.) the Committee or selectmen, as they may be called, proceeded in their duties of laying out land, and managing the affairs of the town. The first division of lands, was between the two branches of the Nashaway to the west; and to the east, on what is called the Neck, lying between the north branch of the river, and the principal stream. To

the north branch, they gave the name of North river; the south branch only, they called the Nashaway; and the main river, after the confluence of the two streams, which is now the Nashaway, they named the Penecook. Each portion contained twenty acres of upland, besides intervale. On the west, the first lot by which all the others on that side were bounded, was laid out to John Prescott, at the place I have before mentioned, where Simonds and King some years before, built the trucking or trading house; about a mile a little to the west of south of the present church. Then in regular order towards the north, followed John Moore, John Johnson, Henry Kerley, William Kerley, (his own, and one purchased of Richard Smith,) and John Smith. Next, south of Prescott, was the land of Thomas Sawyer. The land on the Neck was divided as follows—first, Edward Breck, on the south east corner of the neck, and very near the house of Mr. Davis Whitman. Then followed in order, towards the north, on the same side of the way, Richard Linton, Ralph Houghton, (his own and one purchased of Prescott,) James Atherton, John White, William Lewis, John Lewis, son of William, Thomas James, and Edmund Parker. Richard Smith's land was a triangular piece, apart from the rest, between the present church and Sprague bridge. Robert Breck's* land was on the west side of the Neck, and from the description, must have been in the middle of the town, by the church.

As soon as the first division of lands was completed, the Inhabitants and others entered into a covenant for themselves, their heirs, executors, and assigns, in substance as follows, viz: after sundry orders touching the ministry, &c. which will be mentioned in the context, they agreed that such of them as were not inhabitants, and who were yet to come up, "to build, improve, and inhabit, would by the will of God, come up, to build, plant, and inhabit," within a year, otherwise to forfeit all they had expended, forfeit also their land and pay five pounds for the use of the plantation.

To keep out all heresies, and discourage the spirit of litigation, they inserted the following article, which I will recite, viz: "For the better preserving of the purity of religion and ourselves from infection of error, we covenant not to distribute allotments, or receive into the plantation, as inhabitants any *Excommunicant*, or otherwise profane and scandalous, (known so to be) nor any one notoriously erring against the doctrine and discipline of the churches, and the state and Government of this Commonwealth. And for

* Edward Breck dwelt in Lancaster awhile. Robert never moved up.

the better preserving of peace and love, and yet to keep the rules of justice and equity, amongst ourselves, we covenant not to go to law* one with another, in actions of debt, or damage, one towards another, in name or estate; but to end all such controversies, amongst ourselves, by arbitration, or otherwise, except in cases capital or criminal, that some may not go unpunished; or that the matter be above our ability to judge of, and that it be with the consent of the Plantation, or selectmen thereof."

Each subscriber engaged to pay ten shillings towards the purchase money, due to the Indians, &c. That the population might not be too much scattered, the first division of land was made on the principle of equality to rich and poor: but the second, and subsequent divisions, were according to the value of each man's property. Every person was put down at ten pounds, and his estate estimated according to its value. They reserved to the plantation the right of conferring gifts of land on such individuals as they might see fit, as occasion might offer. These covenants were subscribed at different times during the few first years, as follows, viz:

Edward Breck,(a) } "I subscribe to this for myself, and for my son Robert,
Robert Breck, } save that it is agreed, we are not bound to come up
to inhabit within a years time, in our own persons."

John Prescott,
William Kerley,(b) }
Thomas Sawyer,(c) } Subscribed first.
Ralph Houghton,(d) }

John Whitcomb (e) } 20, 9 mo. 1652.
Jno. Whitcomb, Jr. }

Richard Linton,(f) }
John Johnson,(g) } 4, 9 mo. 1654.
Jeremiah Rogers, }

John Moore,(h) 11, 1 mo. 1653.

*Thomas Lechford, the earliest Lawyer in New England, came to Boston, and resided there from 1637 to 1641. Though he wrote himself of "Clement's Inn, in the County of Middlesex, Gentleman," he had but little professional business. He seemed to be looked upon as rather a useless appendage to society, under the Theocracy. In his "Plain dealing," a rare, and curious pamphlet, he observes, that he had but little to do for a livelihood except "to write petty things." He fell under some censure, returned to England, irritated with the colonists, and published his pamphlet, containing, I sincerely believe, many truths. Certainly it is far from deserving the bad character, that was attributed to it by our ancestors. There were some of the profession in N. E. when this town was incorporated, but they were probably not men of much talent or acquirements; else, their names, at least, would have reached this day. In 1654, a law was passed, prohibiting any usual or common attorney, in any inferior court, from sitting as a deputy, in the general court.

- William Lewis,(*v*) } 1, 31 mo. 1653.
 John Lewis, }
 Thomas James, 21, 3 mo. 1653.
 Edmund Parker, }
 Benjamin Twitchell, } 1, 8 mo. 1652.
 Anthony Newton,(*j*) }
 STEPHEN DAY,(*k*) }
 James Atherton,(*l*) }
 Henry Kerley,(*m*) } 15, 1 mo. 1653.
 Richard Smith,(*n*) }
 William Kerley,Jr.(*o*) }
 John Smith,(*p*) }
 Lawrence Waters,(*q*) } Between March and May,
 1653, probably.
 John White,(*r*) 1 May 1653.
 John Farrar, }
 Jacob Farrar, (*s*) } 24 Sept. 1653.
 John Houghton, }
 Samuel Dean, } Sept. 24, 1653.
 James Draper, }
 Stephen Gates, sen'r. } April 3, 1654.
 James Whiting or Witton, April 7, 1654.
 Jno. Moore, }
 Edward Rigby, } April 13, 1654.
 John Mansfield, }
 John Towers, }
 Richard Dwelley, } April 18, 1654.
 Henry Ward, }
 John Pierce, }
 William Billings, } 4, 7 mo. 1654.
 Richard Sutton, April, 1653.
 Thomas Joslin, }
 Nathaniel Joslin,(*t*) } 12, 9 mo. 1654.
 John Rugg, 12, 12 mo. 1654.
 JOSEPH ROWLANDSON,(*u*) 12, 12 mo. 1654.—
 And it is agreed by the town, that he shall have
 20 acres of upland, and 40 acres of intervale, in
 the Knight Pasture.
 John Rigby, 12, 12 mo. 1654.
 John Roper, (*v*) 22, 1 mo. 1656.
 John Tinkér, (*w*) Feb. 1, 1657.
 Mordecai McLoad, (*x*) March 1, 1658.
 Jonas Fairbanks,(*y*) March 7, 1659.
 Roger Sumner, (*z*) April 11, 1659.
 Gamaliel Beman, May 31, 1659.
 Thomas Wilder, (*aa*) July 1, 1659.
 Daniel Gaines,(*bb*) March 10, 1660.

1654. By the following spring, there were twenty families in the place; and the inhabitants feeling competent to manage their own affairs, presented a petition to the General Court, that

NOTES TO THE FOREGOING LIST OF NAMES.

(a) The Brecks were probably of Dorchester. The Rev. Robert Breck of Marlborough, a distinguished clergyman, who died Jan. 7, 1731, may have been of this race. There were Brecks, early in Boston. John Duntun in his "Life and errors" 1686, speaks of Madam Brick (Breck) as the "flower of Boston," for beauty. 2 Mass. Hist. Col. II. 103.

(b) William Kerley, senior, was from Sudbury; I find him there, in Nov. 1652. After the death of his wife, Ann, in March, 1658, he married Bridget Rowlandson, the mother, I think, of the Rev. Mr. Rowlandson, in May, 1659. She died in June, 1662. He or his son William, probably the former, married Rebecca Joslin, widow of Thomas Joslin, May, 1664. He died in July, 1670. He was one of the proprietors of Marlboro' in 1660. I find many years after, this name spelt Carley.

(c) Thomas and Mary Sawyer, had divers children, viz:—Thomas born July, 1649, and was married to Sarah, his wife, Oct. 1670.—Mary, their daughter, born Jan. 7, 1672 (N.S.)—Ephraim, born Jan. 7, 1651, (N.S.) killed by the Indians, at Prescotts' garrison, Feb. 1676.—Mary, born Jan. 7, 1653, (N.S.)—Elizabeth, born Jan. 7, 1654, (N.S.)—Joshua, born March, 1655, (N.S.)—James, born March, 1657, (N.S.)—Caleb, born April, 1659, (N.S.)—John, born April, 1661, (N.S.)—Nathaniel, born Nov. 1670, (N.S.) Thomas, I think the father, was again married Nov. 1672.

From this stock there are numerous descendants in Lancaster, Sterling, Bolton, &c.

(d) Ralph Houghton came to this country not long before the town was incorporated, in company with his cousin, John Houghton, father of John Houghton Esq. usually called Justice Houghton, who will be mentioned more particularly by and by. Ralph, and John, senior, first lived in Watertown; Ralph early moved to Lancaster. John probably came up at the same time. When the town was destroyed, in 1676, they went to Woburn, where they lived till the town was rebuilt. Ralph was clerk or recorder as early as 1656 and for many years, and was quite a skillful penman. A single leaf of the original volume of Records in his hand writing, is in existence. It was found amongst the papers of the late Hezekiah Gates.

(e) Died, Sept. 1662.

(f) Linton was of Watertown in 1646. He died, March, 1665. George Bennett, who was killed by the Indians, Aug. 22, 1675, was his grandson.

(g) One of the same name is mentioned as one of the proprietors of Marlborough, 1657.

(h) John Moore was of Sudbury in 1649. Married John Smith's daughter, Anna, Nov. 1654, and left a son, John, born April, 1662, and other children.

(i) Wm. Lewis, was probably of Cambridge. He died, Dec. 1671.

(j) One of that name, and I suppose the same person, was a member of Dorchester Church, in April, 1678, and was dismissed with others, to form a church in Milton. This was while Lancaster remained uninhabited, after its destruction, by the Indians. 1 Mass. Hist. Col. IX. 194.

(k) An account of Day will be found in a preceding note.

(l) Of his children, were James, born 13 May, 1654.—Joshua, 13 May, 1656.—His wife's name was Hannah.

(m) Henry Kerley must have been the son of William Kerley, senior. He married Elizabeth White, sister to Mrs. Rowlandson, Nov. 1654. His children were, Henry, born Jan. 1658, (N.S.)—William, Jan. 1659, (N.S.) and killed by the Indians at the destruction of the town.—Hannah, July,

the power, which was given to the six individuals, the year before, to manage the affairs of the town, might be transferred to the town, and the inhabitants in general; one of the six being dead, another having removed, and some of the remainder being desirous to re-

NOTES TO PAGE 280.

1663—Mary, Oct. 1666.—Joseph, March, 1669, and killed with William.—Martha, Dec. 1672.—Henry, the son, married Elizabeth How, in Charlestown, April, 1676, where they probably retreated, after the town was laid waste.—The Kerleys did not return after the re-settlement, it would seem; but went to Marlborough where Capt. Kerley owned land. In the pamphlet entitled "Revolution in New England justified," printed 1691, he gives his deposition relating to Sir Edmund Andross' passing through that town in 1683, who demanded of Kerley "by what order they garrisoned and fortified their houses." Kerley was then 57 years old. The one mentioned by Rev. Mr. Allen, in his sketch of Northborough, (ante p. 154) was probably Henry, the son.—There is a tradition of Capt. Kerley, who married Miss Rowlandson's sister; that he had sundry little passages with a damsel, in the way of differences. On one of these occasions, after they were published, he pulled up the post, on which the publication, as it is called, was placed, and cast it into the river; but, like all true lovers, they soon healed up their quarrels, and were married.

(n) The name of Smith was early, so common that I cannot trace individuals of the name.

(o) A son, I think, of Wm. Kerley, Senr. He was of Sudbury, in 1652. One of the same name was of Sudbury, in 1672, and of Cambridge, in 1683.

(p) John Smith died, July, 1669.

(q) Waters was of Watertown, 1635-1638-1646, married Anna, daughter of Richard Linton. His children were, Joseph, Jacob, Rachel and Ephraim.

(r) There were some three or four of this name, early in New England. This one probably came from Weymouth. In March, 1658, at a meeting of the town, all the orders of the Selectmen passed, except that of Goodman White, which was rejected "because he feared not to speak in his own cause."

(s) Killed by the Indians, August 22, 1675. His grandchildren, Jacob, George, John and Henry, lived in Concord. They sold all their grandfather's land in Lancaster, to their uncle, John Houghton, Esq. Oct. 1697.

(t) He had a son Nathaniel, born June, 1658.

(u) What is known of Rev. Mr. Rowlandson and family, will be related in the sequel.

(v) Roper was killed by the Indians, six weeks after the attack of Feb. 1676, and the very day that the inhabitants withdrew from town.

(w) I find master John Tinker's name in Boston records, in 1652. He was Clerk and Selectman for sometime, and his chirography was very neat. In 1659, he moved to "Pequot."

(x) He was killed, with his wife, and two children, Aug. 22, 1675, by the Indians.

(y) Jonas Fairbanks was killed by the Indians, when they destroyed the town, in Feb. 1676. His son Joshua, born April, 1661, was killed at the same time.

(z) "1660, Aug. 26. Roger Sumner was dismissed, that with other christians, at Lancaster, a Church might be begun there." Church records of Dorchester, 1 Mass. Hist. Col. IX. 192. He married a daughter of Thomas Joslin; as I find he is called son-in-law to the widow Rebecca Joslin, who was wife to Thomas.

(aa) He spelt his name, "Wyelder;" further accounts of this family, will be found in the sequel.

(bb) Killed by the Indians, Feb. 1676.

linquish their power.* They further requested, that the Court would appoint some one or more to lay out the bounds of the town. They say, they shall be well satisfied, if the Court will grant seven men out of ten, whose names they mention, to order their municipal concerns; and that afterwards, it shall be lawful to make their own elections, &c. This petition was signed by the townsmen, to whom the General Court on the 10th of May, 1654, returned a favourable answer, granting them the full liberties of a township, and appointed Lieut. Goodnough,† and Thomas Danforth, a committee to lay out the bounds. I cannot find that any survey was made in pursuance of this order, nor, at any time, till 1659, as will be mentioned below.

The first town meeting on record, was held, in the summer of 1654, probably soon after the petition, I have just mentioned, was granted. The doings of the Committee were then confirmed and at a subsequent meeting, which is not dated, but must have been early in 1655, it was voted not to take into the town above thirty five families: and the names of twenty five individuals are signed, who are to be considered as townsmen. They are as follows, viz. Edward Breck, Master Joseph Rowlandson, John Prescott, William Kerley, senior, Ralph Houghton, Thomas Sawyer, John Whitcomb, and John Whitcomb, Jr. Richard Linton, John Johnson, John Moore, William, and John Lewis, Thomas James, Edmund Parker, James Atherton, Henry Kerley, Richard Smith, William Kerley, Jr. John Smith, Lawrence Waters, John White, John, and Jacob Farrar, John Rugg. Many of these names still abound in Lancaster and the vicinity.

The first highway, out of town, was probably laid out in 1653, according to the direction of the General Court, from Lancaster to Sudbury; and for many years this was the principal route to Boston.

A highway to Concord, was laid out in the spring of 1656. It commenced near Prescotts', in what is now called New Boston, thence by the then parsonage, which was a little N. E. of Rev. Dr. Thayer's, and over the river some 15 or 20 rods above the present bridge, then passing over the south end of the neck, and crossing Penecook river,‡ in the general direction of the travelled road, till

* Nathaniel Hadlock and Edward Breck. Hadlock was the one that died.

† Goodinow, as Johnson spells it, was of Sudbury. 2. Mass. Hist. Col. VII. 55. For Danforth, see note, post.

‡ It crossed at the wading place of the Penecook, to the east of what was afterwards called the Neck bridge.

within a few years, and extending over Wataquodoc hill in Bolton. This road, I find afterwards in the proprietor's books as beginning at Wataquodoc hill, passing the Penecook, and North Rivers, by "Master Rowlandson's house, and fenced, marked, and staked up to Goodman Prescotts' rye field; and so between John Moore's lot and across the brook, &c.—and so beyond all the lots into the woods." The present roads on the east and west side of the neck, were probably laid out as early as 1654. The latter extended as far to the N. W. as Quassaponiken.

In 1657, the good people of Nashaway, found that they were unable to manage their town affairs satisfactorily to themselves, in public town meetings, "by reason," they say, "of many inconveniences, and incumbrances, which we find that way; nor by select men by reason of the scarcity of freemen,* being but three in number." It therefore repented them of the former petition, which I have mentioned, and they besought the General Court, to appoint a committee, (to use the language of the request) "to put us into such a way of order, as we are capable of, or any other way which the Honored Court may judge safest and best, &c. till the committee make return that the town is able to manage its own affairs." This request was granted, May 6th, of the same year, and Messrs. Simon Willard,† Edward Johnson,‡ and Thomas Danforth§ were appointed commissioners.

* At the first session of the General Court, in the colony of Massachusetts, May, 1631, it was ordered "that no man should be admitted to the freedom of this Commonwealth, but such as are members of some of the churches, within the limits of this jurisdiction." And this was the law till 1664. None but freemen were allowed to hold any office.

† Major Willard came to this country from the County of Kent, in 1635, at the same time, I think, with the Rev. Peter Bulkley, a distinguished clergyman of Concord. He was one of the original purchasers from the Indians of Musketaguid, afterwards called Concord. He resided there many years. The town was incorporated, Sept. 1635, and he was the deputy or Representative from the spring following, till 1654, with the omission only of one year. In 1654, he was chosen one of the Court of Assistants, and was annually re-chosen till the time of his death. He died in Charlestown, April 24, (O. S.) 1676. This Court was the upper branch of the General Court, the Court of Probate, a Court for Capital and other trials of importance; and with power to hear petitions, decree divorces, &c. The members, were magistrates throughout the Colony, and held the County Courts, the powers of which extended to all civil causes, and criminal, excepting life, member, banishment and divorces.

‡ Johnson was of Woburn, and came from the County of Kent. He was the author of "Wonder working Providence of Zion's Savior, in New England;" a very singular, curious, and enthusiastic work.

§ Danforth lived in Cambridge. He was distinguished in the early history of Massachusetts; some time one of the assistants, and Deputy Governor.

These Commissioners were instructed to hear and determine the several differences and grievances which "obstruct the present, and future good of the town" &c. and were to continue in office till they could report the town to be of sufficient ability to manage its own affairs.

The Commissioners appointed in September of the same year, were, master John Tinker, Wm. Kerley, sen'r, Jno. Prescott, Ralph Houghton, and Thomas Sawyer, to superintend the municipal concerns with power to make all necessary rates and levies, to erect "a meeting house, pound and stocks," three things that were then as necessary to constitute a village, as, according to Knickerbocker, a "meeting house, tavern and blacksmith's shop" are, at the present day. None were to be permitted to take up their residence in town, or be entertained therein, unless by consent of the selectmen, and any coming without such consent, on record, and persons entertaining them, were each subject to a penalty of twenty shillings per month. However much we may be inclined to smile at the last regulation, something of the kind probably was necessary in the early state of society, and especially in so remote a plantation as that of Nashaway, to exclude the idle and unprincipled; not only strong hands but stout hearts, sobriety of character, and patriotism, properly so called, were needed to sustain and advance the interest of the town. Vicious persons would be disorderly; the situation was critical, the danger of giving provocation to the Indians would be increased, and it would require but a slight matter to destroy the settlement. The commissioners directed further, that lands should be reserved for "the accommodation and encouragement of five or six able men, to take up their residence in the town."

Early attention was paid by the town to its water privileges. In Nov. 1653, John Prescott received a grant of land of the inhabitants, on condition that he would build a "corn mill." By a memorandum in Middlesex Records, it appears, that he finished the mill and began to grind corn, the following spring, 23, 3 mo. 1654. A saw mill followed in a few years, according to the records of the proprietaries; where I find that "in November 1658, at a training, a motion was made by Goodman Prescott, about settling up a saw

He was one of the few who dared to oppose openly, the witchcraft delusion. Gov. Bradstreet, President Increase Mather, and Sumuel Willard, son of Major W. minister in Boston, and afterwards V. Pres. of the College, were almost the only leading men who withstood the mighty torrent.

mill; and the town voted that if he should erect one, he should have the grant of certain priveleges, and a large tract of land lying near his mill for him and his posterity forever; and to be more exactly recorded, when exactly known."

In consideration of these provisions, Goodman Prescott forthwith erected his mill. This was on the spot, where the Lancaster Cotton Manufacturing Company have extensive and profitable works under the superintendence of Messrs. Poignand & Plant. I mention these mills, the more particularly, as they were many years before any of the kind in the present County of Worcester. People came from Sudbury to Prescotts' grist mill. The stone of this mill was brought from England, and is now in the vicinity of the Factory*, in fragments.

There were no bridges in town till 1659. In January of that year (3. 11 mo. 1658) it is recorded that "the Selectmen ordered for the bridges over Nashaway and North river, that they that are on the neck of land do make a cart bridge over the north river† by Goodman Water's, and they on the south end, do make a cart bridge over Nashaway about the wading place‡ at their own expense."

These two bridges were supported in this way, eleven years. In February 1670, it was voted, that the bridges should be a town charge from the second day of that month, (1669, O. S.) only, it was ordered, that if the town should think it "for the safety of north bridge, that the cages be put down, that then they shall be set down upon the Neck's charge, the first convenient opportunity." There is reason to believe that no bridge was built over the Penecook, or Main river, till after the re-settlement of the town in 1679 and 80.§ The "Great bridge by the Knight pasture," (the same as the Neck bridge,) a little to the east of the present centre bridge is spoken of in 1729, and a vote was passed in 1736, to repair this bridge. The road that I have before mentioned from Bolton, across the Penecook, and "staked up to Goodman Prescott's rye field," was laid out in the spring of 1656. But I assert with confidence, that no bridge was there as early as 1671. From 1671 to 1675, it is by no means probable that the inhabitants were in a situation to

* This rests on information received from Mr. Jonathan Wilder, of this town, a high authority in traditionary lore. Mrs. Wilder is a descendant, in direct line from John Prescott.

† This was near the residence of the late Judge Sprague.

‡ This was on the south branch, near the present mill bridge.

§ The remark, relative to the bridge in the first volume of Worcester Magazine, p. 234, in note, is incorrect.

support three bridges,* and after that time, Metacomet's war left neither opportunity nor means, to pay attention to any thing but self-defence.†

1658. The Selectmen met in January following their appointment, and ordered the inhabitants to bring in a perfect list of their lands—the quality, quantity, bounds, &c. that they might be recorded, to prevent future differences, by reason of mistake or forgetfulness. In the course of the year, finding their authority insufficient to manage the municipal concerns of the town, they presented a petition to the commissioners, in which they say “the Lord has succeeded our endeavors to the “settling,” we hope, of Master Rowlandson amongst us, and the town is, in some sort, at least, in a good preparative to after peace; yet it is hard to repel the “boilings and breakings forth” of some persons, difficult to please, and some petty differences will arise amongst us, provide what we can to the contrary,” and that unless they have further power given them, what they possess is a “sword tool, and no edge.”

The Commissioners, then in Boston, explained to the Selectmen the extent of their powers, and authorized them to impose penalties in certain cases, for breach of orders, to make divisions of land, to appoint persons to hear and end small causes, under forty shillings, and present them to the County Court for allowance, &c. This increase of power, probably answered the purpose, so long as the management of affairs pertained to the Commissioners, and till it returned to the inhabitants of the town, at their general meetings.

As was before observed, although a committee had been appointed for that purpose some years before, it does not appear that the boundaries of the town were surveyed and marked before 1659. At that time, Thomas Noyes was appointed to that service, by the General Court, and the selectmen voted that when “Ensign Noyes comes to lay out the bounds, Goodman Prescott do go with him to mark the bounds, and Job Whitcomb, and young Jacob Farrar, to carry the chain,” &c. provided “that a bargain be first made between him and the selectmen, in behalf of the town, for his art and pains.” Noyes made his return 7th April, of that year

* There was a wading place over the Penecook.—See note ante.

† Since the above was written, I have ascertained satisfactorily, that the Neck bridge was built, 1718. The vote to build, was March 10, 1718—and to be finished by the first of August following. In the vote, it was ordered, “that the bridge have five trussells, and to be a foot higher than before.” It would seem then, that this was not the first bridge over the principal stream.

as follows, viz. : beginning at the wading place of Nashaway* river, thence running a line three miles in length, N. W. one degree West, and from that point drawing a perpendicular line five miles, N. N. East, one degree North, and another S. S. West, one degree South. At the end of the ten miles, making eight angles, and running at the north end, a line of eight miles, and at the south, six miles and a half, in the direction E. S. East, one degree East, then connecting the extremes of these two lines, finished the fourth side, making in shape a trapezoid. Four miles of the S. East part of the line, bounded on Whipsufferaget plantation, that was granted to Sudbury, now included in Berlin, Bolton and Marlborough. The return of Mr. Noyes was accepted by the Court, provided a farm of six hundred and forty acres be laid out within the bounds, for the Country's use, in some place not already appropriated.†

The town, which for a number of years, had labored under the many disadvantages incident to new plantations, increased, perhaps, by being quite remote from other settlements, now began to acquire somewhat of municipal weight and importance. It was becoming a place, to which the enterprising colonists were attracted by its natural beauties, its uncommon facility of cultivation, and by the mild and friendly character of the natives in the vicinity. The selectmen, therefore, in July, 1659, found it necessary to repeal the foolish order of 1654, by which the number of families was limited to 35. Their eyes being opened, they conceived it to be most for the good of the town, "that so many Inhabitants be admitted, as may be meetly accommodated, provided they are such, as are acceptable ; and that admittance be granted to so many, as shall stand with the description of the selectmen, and are worthy of acceptance according to the Commissioners acceptance."

1663, the town also began to feel sufficient strength to regulate the affairs of the Corporation by regular town meetings. The selectmen were willing, and in a letter expressed to the town "that there was not such a loving concurrence as they could desire," in their proceedings, and go on to observe, that if their labors in endeavoring to procure the town liberty to choose its own officers be

* This it will be recollected was the South branch, and near the present mill bridge by Samuel Carter's mills. The main stream was invariably called Penecook.

† This is the English name. Rev. Mr. Allen, in his sketch of Northborough, in which he discovers the true spirit of the antiquary, says, that the Indian word is Whippsuppenike. See Worcester Magazine for July, 1826, p. 134.

‡ The tradition is, that it was laid out in the south part of the town, and included a very poor tract of land.

of use they desire to bless God for it; but if not, they desire not to create trouble to themselves, and grief for their loving brethren and neighbors," &c. &c. The town confirmed the doings of the selectmen, and petitioned the Commissioners early in the year 1665, to restore the full privileges to the town. The answer of the Commissioners is, in part, as follows—

"Gentlemen and loving friends.

"We do with much thankfulness to the Lord acknowledge his favor to yourselves, and not only to you, but to all that delight in the prosperity of God's people, and children, in your loving compliance together; that this may be continued is our earnest desire, and shall be our prayer to God. And wherein we may in our capacity, contribute thereto, we do account it our duty to the Lord, and to you, and for that end, do fully concur, and consent to your proposals, for the ratifying of what is, and for liberty among yourselves, observing the laws and the directions of the General Court, for the election of your selectmen for the future."

SIMON WILLARD,
THOMAS DANFORTH,
EDWARD JOHNSON.

Dated, 8th 1 mo. 1664."

The town was soon after relieved from the inconveniences and embarrassments of having its affairs directed by gentlemen residing at a distance, and, in future, sustained its new duties, without further assistance from the General Court.

A highway was soon after laid out to Groton, passing over the intervalle to Still river hill, in Harvard, thence to Groton in a very circuitous course.

In 1669, an order was passed establishing the first Monday in February, at ten o'clock A. M. for the annual town meetings, and obliging every inhabitant, to attend, under penalty of two shillings unless having a good excuse. The limited population, rendered necessary the sanction of all qualified persons, to the municipal proceedings.

The affairs of the town seem to have proceeded with tolerable quiet for more than twenty years from the first settlement, till 1674. The population had increased quite rapidly and was spread over a large part of the township. The Indians were inclined to peace, and, in various ways, were of service to the Inhabitants. But this happy state of things was not destined to continue. The day of deep and long continued distress was at hand. The natives with

whom they had lived on terms of mutual good will, were soon to become their bitter enemies: desolation was to spread over the fair inheritance: fire and the tomahawk, torture and death, were soon to be busy in annihilating all the comforts of domestic life.

The tribe of the Nashaways, when the country was first settled, was under the chief Sachem of the Massachusetts. Gookin, who wrote in 1674, says, "they have been a great people in former times; but of late years have been consumed by the Maquas* wars, and other ways, and are now not above fifteen or sixteen families.†" He probably referred to the settlement at Washacum alone.—There were Indians in various parts of the town at that time; in fact so large a part of the tribe, as would, perhaps, swell the whole number to twenty five or thirty families, or from one hundred and fifty, to one hundred and eighty persons. This miserable remnant, that was rapidly wasting away by intemperance, which, at this day, destroys its thousands, was under the influence of the master spirit, Philip. Whilst Gookin, with Wattasacompanum, ruler of the Nipmucks, was at Pakachoog, in Sept. 1674, he sent Jethro‡ of Natick, one of the most distinguished of the converted Indians, who, in general, made but sorry christians, to Nashaway, to preach to his countrymen, whom Eliot had never visited. One of the tribe happened to be present at the Court, and declared "that he was desirously willing as well as some other of his people to pray to God: but that there were sundry of that people very wicked, and much addicted to drunkenness, and thereby many disorders were committed amongst them;" and he intreated Gookin to put forth his power, to suppress this vice. He was asked, "whether he would take upon him the office of constable, and receive power to apprehend drunkards, and take away their strength from them, and bring the delinquents before the court to receive punishment." Probably apprehending some difficulty from his brethren, if he should accept the appointment at the time, he answered, "that he would first speak with his friends, and if they chose him, and strengthened his hand in the work, he would come for a black staff and power."

It is not known that Jethro's exhortations produced any effect.

* A fierce tribe residing about fifty miles beyond Albany and towards the lakes.

† 1 Mass. Hist. Col. I. 193.

‡ Gookin gave Jethro a letter directed to the Indians, exhorting them to keep the sabbath and to abstain from drunkenness, powowing, &c. At this time and for many years after Gookin was superintendant of all the Indians under the government of Massachusetts.

The conspiracy that in the following summer lighted up the flames of war, was secretly spreading, and but little opportunity existed, to improve the condition of the Nashaways. At this time, Sagamore Shoshanim* was at the head of the tribe. He possessed, it appears, a hostile feeling, and a vindictive spirit against the English. He joined heart and hand in the measures of Philip. He probably engaged early in the war, and took an active part in the attack upon his former friends. James Quanapaug, who was sent out by the English, as a spy, in Jan. 1676, (N. S.) relates that Shoshanim was out with the hostile Indians in the neighborhood of Mennimesseg, about 20 miles north of the Connecticut path. Robert Pepper was his prisoner. Philip was in the neighborhood of Fort Aurania, (Albany) and was probably on his return to Mennimesseg. This circumstance, taken in connection with the positive declaration of Rev. Mr. Harrington, in his Century Sermon, and the frequent mention made of him by Mrs. Rowlandson, shows pretty conclusively that he had the powerful force that overwhelmed Lancaster. I find in a scarce pamphlet, entitled a "Brief and true Narrative of the late wars risen in New England," printed late in 1675, that the report was current, that Philip had "fled to the French at Canada for succor." And Cotton Mather says, that the French from Canada sent recruits to aid in the war. Philip probably returned early in the winter with the recruits. Whilst Quanapaug was at Mennimesseg, one eyed John,† (an Indian every whit,) told him that in about twenty days from the Wednesday preceding, "they were to fall upon Lancaster, Groton, Marlborough, Sudbury, and Medfield, and that the first thing they would do, would be to cut down Lancaster bridge, so as to hinder the flight of the inhabitants, and prevent assistance from coming to them."‡ The war broke out in June, 1675, by an attack upon Swansea, as I should have stated before. On the 22nd day of August, the same summer, eight persons were killed in Lancaster.§ On the 10th (O. S.) of February following, early in the morning, the Wamponoags, led by Philip, accompanied by the Narrhagansetts, his allies, and also by the Nip-

* Sam was his name in the vernacular. He succeeded Matthew, who, as Mr. Harrington relates, always conducted himself well towards the English, as did his predecessor, Sholan. Shoshanim, after the war, was executed at Boston. See post.

† Or John Monoco.

‡ I. Mass. Hist. Col. I. 206, 207 and 208.

§ George Bennett, a grandson of Richard Linton; William Flagg; Jacob Farrar; Joseph Wheeler; Mordacai McLoad, his wife, and two children.

mucs and Nashaways, whom his artful eloquence had persuaded to join with him, made a desperate attack upon Lancaster. His forces consisted of 1500* men, who invested the town "in five distinct bodies and places."† There were at that time more than fifty families in Lancaster. After killing a number of persons in different parts of the town, they directed their course to the house‡ of Mr. Rowlandson, the clergyman of the place. The house was pleasantly situated on the brow of a small hill, commanding a fine view of the valley of the north branch of the river, and the amphitheatre of hills to the west, north and east. It was filled with soldiers and inhabitants to the number of forty two, and was guarded only in front, not like the other garrisons, with flankers at the opposite angles.§—"Quickly" says Mrs. Rowlandson "it was the dolefullest day that ever mine eyes saw." The house was defended with determined bravery upwards of two hours. The enemy, after several unsuccessful attempts to set fire to the building, filled a cart with combustible matter, and approached in the rear, where there was no fortification. In this way, the house was soon enveloped in flames. The inhabitants finding further resistance useless were compelled at length to surrender, to avoid perishing in the ruins of the building.|| No other garrison was destroyed but that of Mr. Rowlandson. One man only escaped.* The rest twelve in number,† were either put to death on the spot, or were reserved for torture. Of

* Hutchinson says several hundred. I have taken the number given by Mr. Harrington, who says it was confessed by the Indians themselves after the peace.

† I can ascertain but three of these places, viz. Wheeler's garrison, at Wataquodoc hill, now S. West part of Bolton. Here they killed Jonas and Joshua Fairbanks and Richard Wheeler. Wheeler had been in town about 15 years. The second was Prescott's garrison, near Poignard & Plant's Manufactory. Ephraim Sawyer was killed here; and Henry Farrar and (John?) Ball and his wife in other places. The third was Mr. Rowlandson's.

‡ This house was about one third of a mile south west of the Church.—The cellar was filled up only a few years since. Where the garden was, are a number of very aged trees, more or less decayed. These, I doubt not, date back to the time of Mr. Rowlandson.

§ So says Harrington. But Hubbard relates that the "fortification was on the back side of the building, but covered up with fire wood, and the Indians got near and burnt a lean-to." Edition 1677.

|| On the authority of Hubbard, I state, that the Indians destroyed about one half of the buildings.

* Ephraim Roper.

†† Ensign Divoll, Abraham Joslin, Daniel Gains, Thomas Rowlandson, William and Joseph Kerley, John McLoad, John Kettle and two sons, Josiah Divoll. Instead of giving the twelfth name, Mr. Harrington puts down "&c." The name therefore must rest, in nubibus.

the slain, Thomas Rowlandson was brother to the clergyman; Mrs. Kerley was wife of Capt. Henry Kerley, and sister to Mrs. Rowlandson;* Wm. Kerley, Jr. I think, may have been Henry's brother, and Joseph his child: I do not venture, however, to give this as a historical fact. Mrs. Drew,† another sister, was of the captives. Mrs. Kerley, and Ephraim Roper's wife were killed in attempting to escape.

Different accounts vary in the number of the slain, and the captives. At least there were fifty persons, and one writer says, fifty five.‡ Nearly half of these suffered death.§ No less than seventeen of the Rev. Mr. Rowlandson's family, and connexions, were put to death or taken prisoners. He, at that time, with Capt. Kerley, and Mr. Drew, was at Boston soliciting military aid from Gov. Leverett and the council. The anguish they felt on their return, is not to be described. Their dwellings had been destroyed: the wife of one was buried in the ruins, the wives of the two others, were in the power of the savages, threading their way, through the trackless forest in the midst of winter; with no comforts to supply their necessities, no friends to cheer them, and nothing but the unmingled dread of a hopeless captivity in prospect. Mrs. Rowlandson was taken by a Narragansett Indian, and sold to Quannopin, a Sagamore, and connected with Philip by marriage; their squaws being sisters. Mrs. Rowlandson's sister, was taken, it would seem by Shoshanim.||

* Mrs. Rowlandson was Mary, daughter of Mr. White, probably John White, who was the richest man in town in 1653. Henry Kerley married Elizabeth.

† This name is inserted on the authority of "News from New-England:" a pamphlet relating to Philip's war, published in 1676. I have not met with the name elsewhere.

‡ "News from New England."

§ Abraham Joslin's wife was a captive. In the neighborhood of Payquaogee (Miller's river,) being near the time of her confinement, the Indians became enraged at her frequent solicitations for liberty to return home, and cast her into the flames with a young child in her arms, two years old. Of those of the Nashaway tribe of Indians who survived the war, a part moved to Albany, and the rest to Penecook, one of the New Hampshire tribes; with this tribe they incorporated. There have been Indians residing in town, within the memory of some of the present inhabitants; they were wanderers from other places, and not descendants of the Nashaways.

|| Mrs. Rowlandson during her captivity was separated from her sister.—At one time when they were near, the Indian, Mrs. Drew's master, would not suffer her to visit Mrs. Rowlandson, and the latter in her "removes" remarks with much apparent comfort, that "the Lord requited many of their ill doings, for this Indian was hanged afterwards at Boston." This was Sept. 26, 1676. The Sagamore of Quoboag, and old Jethro, were executed at the same time, at the town's end. Hubbard, Edition 1677.

The Indians made great plunder in various parts of the town. They were forced, however, to retreat on the appearance of Capt. Wadsworth,* who, hearing of the distressed situation of the town, immediately marched from Marlborough, where he was stationed, with forty men. The Indians had removed the planks from the bridge to prevent the passage of horsemen, the river at the time being much swollen, and had prepared an ambush for the foot soldiers, but fortunately withdrew from that spot, before the arrival of the soldiers. Wadsworth stationed his men in different parts of the town, and remained there for some days. Before his departure, he lost one of his men, George Harrington, by the Indians.

But the alarm of the inhabitants was so great, and such was the general insecurity of the border towns, in the then unsettled state of the Country, that when the troops withdrew, about six weeks afterwards, the rest of the inhabitants left under their protection, after destroying all the houses, but two.† The return of peace on the death of Philip, in August, 1676, did not restore their courage and confidence. For more than three years, Lancaster remained without an inhabitant. In Oct. 1679, a committee was appointed by the County Court, under a law then in force, to rebuild the town.‡ It is probable that the resettlement took place in the spring of 1680.§ No record exists by which the precise time or mode can be discovered. Some interest naturally attaches to this era, as the whole work of building up the town was to be again undertaken. Some of the first planters, or their children, who were still living, returned accompanied by others. Of the former, were the Prescotts, Houghtons, Sawyers, Wilders, &c. The Carters, a name now

* Capt. Samuel Wadsworth of Milton, a brave soldier and valuable man. He was killed on the 18th of April following, in a severe battle with the Indians at Sudbury. A monument over his grave, on the spot where he fell, was erected by his son, Rev. President Wadsworth of Harvard College.

† The house of public worship, was not destroyed by the Indians at this time. The French, according to James Quanapau, before the commencement of the winter campaign "bid them that they should not destroy meeting houses, for there, God was worshipped." John Roper was killed the very day that the inhabitants withdrew.

‡ Oct. 7, 1679. The committee consisted of Capt. Thomas Prentice, Deacon John Stone, and William Bond. Prentice, was a distinguished cavalry officer in Philip's war. Mass. Hist. Col. Vol. V. p. 270, l.

§ To avoid the charge of plagiarism, perhaps it should be stated, that the account of the destruction of Lancaster, excepting what was taken from Mr. Harrington, was extracted principally from an anonymous article, written by the compiler, and published in the New Hampshire Historical and Miscellaneous Collections for April and May, 1824; and another, in the Worcester Magazine, for Feb. 1826. Harrington took most of his account from Hubbard.

quite prevalent, came in soon after the restoration. A number of brothers of that family, came from Woburn,* and took up their residence on George hill, where, and in other parts of the town, many of their descendants still live.

Under the numerous inconveniences, hardships and dangers of a new settlement, it is not to be supposed that the wealth or population of the town, for some years, increased with much rapidity. In 1631 and 1632, in consequence of these things, and of the exposed situation of the town, on the confines of civilization, an exemption was granted from the County rates. In 1694, 20 pounds of the public taxes were allowed to the town, in consideration of its "frontier situation."

The civil history of Lancaster from 1680 to 1724, excepting what is preserved by Mr. Harrington, is, I fear, irretrievably lost. I regret this the more, from the circumstance stated above; and in common with others, have to lament, that Mr. Harrington, who preserved so much, did not preserve much more. Private documents of various kinds, and important in this respect, which were then doubtless numerous, have since been lost by lapse of time, or destroyed through ignorance of their value. Tradition was then fresh and distinct; and, more than all, the original volume of records containing a complete *sequence of events* from the first settlement in the valley of the Nashaway to the year 1724, was then in existence. What progress therefore the town made in popula-

* Thomas Carter, first minister of Woburn, came to this country in 1635. I find also one of that name, the same person, there is reason to suppose, who took the freeman's oath on the 2nd 3 mo. 1638. In 1642, Woburn was taken from Charlestown, and made a distinct town. There were no officers or members of the Church, capable of ordaining Mr. Carter, and they feared to invite the elders of the other churches to perform the service, as it might savour of dependency, and Presbytery; so that at last it was performed by two of their own members. "We ordain thee, Thomas Carter, to be pastor unto this church and people." Hubbard says "it was not to the satisfaction of the magistrates, and ministers present."

In consequence, it soon became common to invite the neighboring elders to perform the services of ordination. Hubbard, 403.

Johnson remarks that the people of Woburn, "after some search, met with a young man named Mr. Thomas Carter, then belonging to the church of Christ at Watertown; a reverend, godly man, apt to teach the sound and wholesome truths of Christ." &c. 2 Mass. Hist. Col. VII. 40-42.

Mr. Carter was one of those mentioned by Cotton Mather, "young scholars whose education for their designed ministry, not being finished, yet came over from England with their friends, and had their education perfected in this country, before the College was come unto maturity enough to bestow its laurels." Magnalia, B. III.

This Thomas Carter was the ancestor of all of the name of Carter now in Lancaster. They probably migrated to Nashaway soon after the town was rebuilt.

tion and wealth for thirty years after its resettlement is unknown. For the remainder of the seventeenth century, however, it is fair to suppose, from the assistance afforded by the General Court, and from the long continuance of the Indian wars, that its progress was slow and interrupted. In the mean time the measure of the sufferings of Lancaster was not yet full. The war that was rekindled between France and England on the accession of William, of Orange, to the throne, extended to his transatlantic provinces. In the 18th (O. S.) July, 1692, a party of the Indians attacked the house of Peter Joslin, and murdered his wife, three children, and a widow by the name of Whitcomb, who resided in the family. Joslin himself, at the time, was at work in the field, and knew nothing of the terrible calamity that had befallen him, till his return home. Elizabeth How his wife's sister was taken captive, but was afterwards returned. Another child of his was put to death by the enemy in the wilderness. In 1695, on a Sunday morning, Abraham Wheeler returning from garrison to his own house, was shot by the enemy lying in ambush. No further injury was done till 1697, when they entered the town under five leaders, with an intention, after ascertaining the situation of affairs, to commence their attack on Thomas Sawyer's* garrison. It was by the merest accident, that they were deterred from their plan. The gates of Sawyer's garrison were open. A Mr. Jabez Fairbanks, who lived at some distance, mounted his horse, that came running towards him much frightened, rode rapidly to the garrison, though without suspicion, for the purpose of carrying away his son, who was there.—The enemy supposing they were discovered, being just ready to rush into the garrison, relinquished their design, and on retreating, fired upon the inhabitants at work in the fields. At no time, however, excepting when the town was destroyed, was ever so much injury perpetrated, or so many lives lost. They met with the minister, the Rev. Mr. John Whiting,† at a distance from his garrison, and offered him quarter, which he rejected with boldness, and fought to the last against the cruel foe. After this they killed twenty others;‡ wounded two more, who afterwards recovered, and took

* This was the first planter, or his eldest son; probably the latter.

† A more particular notice will be taken of Mr. Whiting, in the Ecclesiastical sketches.

‡ Daniel Hudson, his wife and two daughters. Hudson, first moved to Lancaster, in 1664. He was originally of Watertown. Ephraim Roper, his wife and daughter, John Skait, and wife, Joseph Rugg, wife and three children, Widow Rugg, Jonathan Fairbanks and two children, and two children of Nathaniel Hudson. Harrington's Sermon.

six captives,* five of whom, in the end, returned to Lancaster. This sad calamity sweeping off so large a part of their population called for some religious observance, and a day of fasting and prayer was set apart for the purpose. The restoration of peace, in Europe, brought a season of repose, to the afflicted inhabitants of Lancaster. In 1702, the war between England and France was renewed. With slow, but steady progress, it reached the Colonies. In July 1704, seven hundred French and Indians proceeded against Northampton. Finding that the inhabitants were prepared for an attack, they turned their course towards Lancaster, excepting two hundred of them, who returned home, in consequence of a quarrel with their fellow soldiers about the division of spoil. On the thirty first of July, they commenced a violent and sudden attack early in the morning, in the west part of the town, and killed Lieut. Nathaniel Wilder, near the gate of his own garrison.† Near the same place, during the day, they killed three other persons.‡ Nor was this the only injury committed by them on that day. The inhabitants were much inferior to the French and Indians in number. Capt. Tyng happened, at this time, to be in Lancaster with a party of soldiers, and Capt. How gathered in haste what men he was able, and marched with them, from Marlborough, to the relief of the town. They fought with great bravery, but the great number of the enemy forced the inhabitants to retreat into garrison. This gave the enemy opportunity of doing further mischief. They burnt the Church, besides six other buildings, and destroyed no small part of the live stock of the town.

What losses the Indians sustained in their various encounters was never known. They were always quite careful to remove and conceal their slain. In this last conflict, Mr. Harrington observes, it was thought that their loss was considerable, and that a "French officer of some distinction, was mortally wounded," which excited them probably to prolong the battle. Towards evening, many flocked in to the relief of the town, and the enemy made good their retreat, with such success, that they were not overtaken by our soldiers. On the 26th of October following, a party of

* Jonathan Fairbanks' wife, widow Wheeler and Mary Glazer, and son of Ephraim Roper, John Skait and of Joseph Rugg.

† This Nathaniel Wilder was youngest son of Thomas, the first inhabitant of the name of Wilder. The garrison was on the farm now owned by Mr. Soombes, and from the early settlement, till lately, owned by the Wilders.

‡ Abraham How, John Spaulding, and Benjamin Hutchins. How and Hutchins were Marlborough men. Worcester Magazine, II. 156.

the enemy was discovered at Still river, (Harvard.) Some of the soldiers and inhabitants went in pursuit of them: returning much fatigued, Rev. Mr. Gardner the minister, took upon himself the watch for the night. In the course of the night, coming out of the sentry's box, the noise was heard by one in the house, a Mr. Samuel Prescott. As Indians were in the neighborhood, Prescott fired upon Mr. Gardner, supposing him to be an enemy, and shot him through the body. Mr. Gardner freely forgave the innocent, but unfortunate, cause of his death, and breathed his last, in an hour or two after. This closed hostilities for the melancholy year of 1704. On the 15th October, 1705, Thomas Sawyer, his son Elias Sawyer, and John Biglo, were taken captive and carried to Canada. Thomas Sawyer was a man of great bravery. On the arrival of the party at Montreal, says Whitney, Sawyer offered to erect a saw mill on the Chamblee provided the French Governor would obtain a release of all the captives. This he promised, if possible, to do. The son and Biglo were easily ransomed, but the father the Indians determined to put to death, by lingering torture. His deliverance was effected by the sudden appearance of a Friar, who told them that he held the key of Purgatory in his hand, and, unless they immediately released their prisoner, he would unlock the gates and cast them in headlong. Their superstitious fears, which the Catholics could so easily excite in the breast of the savage, prevailed. They unbound Sawyer from the stake, and delivered him to the Governor. He finished the mill* in a year, and was sent home with Biglo. His son Elias, was detained a while to instruct the Canadians in the art of "sawing and keeping the mill in order, and then was dismissed with rich presents."† "The town suffered no further violence from the Indians till July 16, 1707, when Jonathan White was killed. On the 18th of August following, Jonathan Wilder,‡ a native of Lancaster, was taken captive. The party consisting of twenty four men was pursued, the next day, by about thirty of the inhabitants of the two towns, and was overtaken in a remote part of the town, now included in Sterling,

* Whitney from whom the above relation is taken, says, that this was "the first saw mill in Canada, and that there was no artificer there capable of building one." pp. 43, 44.

† A grandson of Elias (Jotham Sawyer) is now living in Templeton, aged eighty six. He recollects riding horseback, behind his mother, to church, to hear Mr. Harrington's century sermon, May 23, 1753.

‡ He was son to Lieut. Nathaniel Wilder, who was killed in 1704, as mentioned above. Jonathan was born April 20, 1682.

and known by the name of the "Indian fight." The day being quite damp, and having cases on their guns, and their packs secured from the weather, the Indians were wholly unprepared for combat. However, as only ten of the English rushed upon them and engaged in the action, they determined not to surrender.— Having killed their captive, they fought bravely till they lost nine of their number. On the other side two* were killed and two† wounded. After a lapse of three years, on the 5th of August 1710, a number of the enemy fired upon Nathaniel and Oliver Wilder, who, with an Indian servant, were at work in the fields.‡ The Indian boy was killed, but the others made their escape and reached the garrison. From this time till peace was concluded at Utrecht in 1713, the inhabitants were doubtless in a continual state of alarm, from expectations of secret and sudden attacks, to which they had been trained by long and bitter experience.

But this was the last hostile measure of the Indians, against Nashaway, and it may be considered, as worthy of remark, that the last person killed by the Indians, in this place, was himself an Indian.

The following is a list of the houses fortified, at various times from the year, 1670, to 1710, &c.

Rev. Mr. Rowlandson's Garrison, before described.

Wheeler's Garrison.—Now in the south part of Bolton, where Asa Houghton lives.

Fortified House.—Now the farm house of Mr. Richard J. Cleveland. This is where the first Judge Wilder lived.

White's Garrison.—On the spot where Mrs. White now lives, on the east side of the Neck—and opposite to the house of Major Jonathan Locke.

Joslin's Garrison.—West side of the Neck, one fourth of a mile north of the church, and near the house successively occupied by Peter Green, Dr. Manning and Dr. Peabody.

James Wilder's Garrison.—A large house, twenty rods back of the house of late Thomas Safford. This was the chief garrison. The house is not now standing.

* John Farrar, and Richard Singleterry.

† Capt. Ephraim Wilder and Mr. Samuel Stevens. Ephraim was son to Lieut. Nathaniel Wilder, and died Dec. 13, 1769, aged 94.

‡ Their guns were resting against a fence at some distance, and the Indians succeeded in getting between the men and their guns before firing. Nathaniel was son of Lieut. Nathaniel, Oliver another son afterwards Colonel, appointed Justice Peace, January 26, 1762.

Minister's Garrison.—Nearly opposite the house of Samuel Ward, Esq. It was erected in 1688, and successively occupied by Rev. Messrs. Whiting, Gardner and Prentice.*

Thomas Sawyer's Garrison.—To the west of the last, and probably a little north of the house of Samuel Flagg, Esq.

Nathaniel Wilder's Garrison.—North of the last, on Mr. Toomb's farm, between his house and the house of Samuel Wilder.

John Prescott's Garrison.—About thirty rods southeast of Messrs. Poignaud and Plant's Factory.

Cyprian Steven's House.—A little to the south of the church, and near the house of William Stedman, Esq. on the Boston road, was probably a garrison.

There were Indian settlements, besides the one at Washacum, at the following places, viz. near the house of Samuel Jones, not far from the road to Leominster; one on a neck of land running into Fort pond; a third, east of Clam Shell pond, and north of John Larkin's, near Berlin; a fourth, above Pitt's mills in the south part of the town.

Hannah Woonsamug, an Indian woman, owned the covenant, and was baptised October, 1710.

In November, 1702, on the petition of Lancaster for leave to purchase of George Tahanto, an Indian Sagamore, and nephew of Sholan, a tract of land adjoining the west end of the township towards the Wachusett, a committee was chosen by the General Court to examine the land.

The purchase was in 1701,† but was not confirmed by the General Court, owing to the distressed situation of the country, till some years after.‡ The committee made their return in 1711. The whole of this grant is now included in other towns; and it will be sufficient, on this matter, to refer to the first vol. of Worcester Mag-

* Soon after the death of Mr. Prentice, the proprietors voted to sell the Church lands in Lancaster.

† June 26, 1701, as appears by a copy in my possession in the hand writing of John Houghton, Esq. who was proprietors clerk.

‡ It is proper here to correct an inaccuracy in the sermon of Rev. Mr. Conant of Leominster, delivered Oct. 12, 1823. He says that "the Lancaster New, or additional grant," was made to induce the return of the inhabitants, (of Lancaster, after its destruction by the Indians,) and that consequently the first grant of Leominster must have been prior to the year 1680." This grant included what is now Leominster and was not made till the eighteenth century, (1713,) as stated in the text. The purchase was made by the inhabitants of Lancaster, the confirmation was by the General Court. See I. Worcester Magazine, 272-3-4-5.

nzine, p. 272-3-4. It was settled as early as 1720, especially the part which is now included in Sterling. Gamaliel Beman, Samuel Sawyer, Benjamin Houghton, David Osgood, and Jonathan Osgood, removed to that place, from other parts of Lancaster.*

From the close of the last Indian war the population began to increase rapidly. The descendants of the original planters, and the new comers, were spread over a broad surface in every part of the town. Uninterrupted industry produced an improved state of the social system, and the character of the place at this time, and for many succeeding years, ranked high for general intelligence, good habits, union and prosperity.†

In 1730, sundry people living on the east side of the Penecook petitioned for a new town. Afterwards, in the same year, the inhabitants were willing to give their consent, if the "General Court should see cause." An act of incorporation was granted, June, 1732, by the name of Harvard; at which time, there were fifty families in the place.‡

Stimulated by this success of their neighbors, and subjected to great inconveniences by their distance from church, the inhabitants living south of Harvard, and within the limits of Lancaster, in 1733, petitioned for a new town. This was refused at the time, but was granted, as far as was in the power of Lancaster, in 1736, and in June, 1738, was incorporated by the name of Bolton. Gamaliel Beman and others in Chocksett,§ stating the same grievances as the Bolton men, urged the same suit in 1733, in their own behalf. This petition was rejected for a number of years, till, in 1741, a conditional permission to form a separate town, was granted to

* A minute and valuable history of Sterling having been published by Isaac Goodwin, Esq. it will not be expected, that I shall touch upon the same subject, any further than, as incidentally, it becomes necessary, in describing Lancaster.

† In May, 1721, Gershom and Jonas Rice, two inhabitants of Worcester, sent a letter to John Houghton, Esq. of this town; and Peter Rice of Marlborough, requesting them to present a certain petition to the General Court, in behalf of Worcester, and closed with saying; "so craving your serious thoughtfulness for the poor, distressed town of Worcester, we subscribe ourselves," &c.

‡ Feb. 5th, 1732. The proprietors of Lancaster granted to the town of Harvard thirty acres of land, where the inhabitants of Harvard "have built a house for public worship—also for a training field, and for a burying place, and other public uses." Feb. 1734. They gave Mr. Secomb, the first minister of Harvard, the two islands in Bear (or Bare) hill pond.

§ This word is a corruption of Woonksechanxit, or Woonksechauckset, now Sterling.

them. To these conditions, they did not assent. They, however, were made a separate precinct.

Next came forward those of the northwest, in 1737. They were incorporated June, 1740, by the name of Leominster. Notwithstanding these successive diminutions in territory, which included a part of Harvard and Bolton, and the whole of Leominster, the population and wealth of the town still ranked high, and went on increasing by the accession of new inhabitants, in the east and west precincts.

The town, however, suffered in proportion to its means, all the evils that attended the state of the currency at that period. The general evil extended as far back, as the seventeenth century; when, to meet the expenses attending the expedition against Canada in 1690, bills of credit were issued anticipating the taxes of the year. This system was continued for some years, and till 1704, the bills were in good credit and answered the purpose of specie. But draughts, beyond the means of the province to bear, being made to defray the heavy expenses incurred in subsequent expeditions, the evil at length became intolerable, and, after the peace of 1713, the public mind was turned towards finding a remedy. There was not sufficient silver and gold in the country to redeem the bills, and the very currency caused these metals to disappear. A public bank, loaning bills on land security, was, after much debate, established in 1714. The few, who at that day seemed to understand what are now deemed first principles in banking, were out voted. These bills, from the operation of the cause I have mentioned above, sunk continually in value, and to an equal extent occasioned a loss to the community. The system was continued many years, and produced a continual sacrifice of property to artificial and imaginary wealth. The bills were loaned by trustees, in every part of the province, on mortgage, with interest and one fifth of the principal payable annually. And when the time of payment arrived, the paper having sunk much below its nominal value, the debtors would be obliged to pay a much larger amount in this trash, or sacrifice their estates in payment of the mortgages. To avoid this, laws were passed from time to time, extending the limit of payment, but prolonging only a lingering state of affairs, that must, in the nature of things, have its crisis, and shake the province to the centre. So infatuated were the people, that they supposed paper emissions would one day work out their redemption from distress and poverty.

Lancaster, I find, instructed her Representative in 1731, "to pay such a regard to his majesty's Governor, as becomes the Rep-

representative of a loyal people, and that he also use his utmost vigilance that no infringements be made on the royal prerogative, nor on any of the privileges of the people; and especially by supplying the treasury, without appropriations, unless of some small quantities that may be necessary to defray unforeseen charges that may require prompt payment." This probably related to the Governor's salary. Hutchinson observes that "the major part of the house were very desirous of giving satisfaction to the Governor, and to their constituents both." Lancaster had its proportion of the various issues of paper from time to time, and appointed trustees among the inhabitants to distribute it upon mortgage.* The land bank company of 1741, established for the same purposes as the bank of 1714, loaned bills of credit on security of real estate, but possessed no funds for redeeming them. The evil at length, after long and indelible distress was removed in a great measure, in 1749, by the introduction of specie, from England, in payment of the provincial expenses of the expedition against Cape Breton.

At this time, and for many years previous, Lancaster was in the County of Worcester. In 1723, a petition by Capt. William Jennison, for a new County, was forwarded to Lancaster; and the town instructed its Representative,† "that in case the Superior Court be holden at Marlborough, and two inferior Courts at Lancaster, annually, then to accede to the proposal. But in case the Courts cannot be so stated, then to offer such objections as the selectmen shall furnish him with." At a subsequent meeting, Feb. 1729, this vote was reconsidered, "as the westerly part of the County of Middlesex will be broken in pieces, in case that the towns petitioned for by Capt. Jennison, be joined with Suffolk." It was also voted to "petition for a new County in the westerly part of Middlesex."‡

This was afterwards granted and an act of incorporation was obtained in 1731.

In the wars subsequent to this period many of the inhabitants were called into service. War was declared against Spain, in October, 1739, and some of the soldiers from Lancaster perished at

* In 1723, the proportion of the £60,000 issued in bills of credit, to which Lancaster was entitled, was £471 05.

† Josiah White.

‡ James Wilder and Jonathan Houghton were chosen agents. Judge Joseph Wilder, a man of extensive influence in the *depths of his wisdom*, prevented Lancaster from being made a half shire town, lest it should be the means of corrupting the morals of the inhabitants. In 1743, an attempt, it seems was made to divide the County. Lancaster chose Wm. Richardson, Joseph Wilder and David Wilder, to oppose a division, before the General Court.



Jamaica in the sickly season of the year.* At the siege of Louisbourg there were present 3250 soldiers from Massachusetts, not including commissioned officers. In this number, there were many from Lancaster, both officers and men. The treaty of Aix la Chapelle in 1748, by which Cape Breton was restored to the French, was not of long continuance. The contest was renewed in 1755, under a much wider range of operations, and continued with mighty efforts, and unabated zeal, till the French were finally driven from the American continent in 1762. During this war a large proportion of the able bodied men, both cavalry and infantry, in town, were actively engaged in the service.† These troops were not merely "food for powder" men, but the substantial yeomanry of the country. New England poured forth her best blood freely, like water, and gained the military experience that afterwards proved so useful in the war of '75.

The year previous to the French war, an effort was made to unite the colonies for all measures of common protection and safety. But the plan that was projected, was far from satisfactory, either to the King or the colonies, though for opposite reasons. In reference to this scheme, the representative of the town was instructed "to oppose all plans of a general or partial union, that shall anywise encroach upon the rights and liberties of the people."

An addition was made to the town in February, 1768, by taking from Shrewsbury a strip of land belonging to that town, and usually called the Leg. Those who lived at this place, sought to be united to Lancaster as early as 1748, but did not obtain permission from the General Court.

The minds of men were now generally intent upon the great question of right, that was at this time in full discussion. The whole bias of this town was towards liberty. The attempts of Parliament to bind us in all cases were received with indignation. Here, as well as elsewhere, though the stamp act was disliked, it was thought that reparation should be made to those who suffered by the mobs that law occasioned. "The cause of liberty" it was believed, "was a cause of too much dignity, to be sullied by turbulence and tumult.‡

* Jacob Wilder in a letter written at Jamaica, Dec. 1740, after mentioning a number of his acquaintance who had died, says, "through the providence of God, I am in nomination for an Ensign, and I hope that I may be fitted for it." There were eighteen or nineteen in this expedition, who belonged to Lancaster; none of them lived to return.

† The whole company of cavalry, excepting five privates, was out during the war.

‡ See the whole of the fine passage in Farmer Dickinson's third letter.

No event of much local importance occurred in town for many years preceding the revolution. The whole current of thought was turned into this one channel, the arbitrary exactions of parliament. All men were looking forward beyond their immediate anxiety, to the darker prospect that clouded the future. The principle of resistance was at work in every village. It is quite important to dwell somewhat at large upon the transactions of the town at this period, and till the termination of the war. Possibly all are not aware how much was accomplished by towns, as such; how many sacrifices were made in every way, to help on the cherished undertaking. New England contributed more, both in men and money, to the success of the great struggle, than all the other provinces; and those miniature republics, the towns, so singular a feature in the body politic, gave to New England, weight and importance.

At a town meeting, in January, 1773, "The dangerous condition of public affairs, in particular the independency of the Superior Judges, came into discussion, as a subject of great interest. The representative received particular instructions, herein, and also as to the right claimed by the mother country, to transport persons to England for trial. He was directed to use his utmost endeavours to obtain a radical redress of grievances.

A committee* was chosen, and reported the following resolves:

"That this and every other town in the Province, has an undoubted right to meet together and consult upon all matters interesting to them, when, and so often, as they shall judge fit. And it is more especially their duty so to do, when any infringement is made upon their civil or religious liberties.

"That the raising a revenue in the colonies, without their consent, either by themselves or their representatives, is an infringement of that right, which every freeman has to dispose of his own property.

"That the granting a salary to His Excellency the Governor of this province, out of the revenue unconstitutionally raised from us, is an innovation of a very alarming tendency.

"That it is of the highest importance to the security of liberty, life and property, that the public administration of justice, should be pure and impartial, and that the Judges should be free from every bias, either in favour of the crown or the subject.

"That the absolute dependence of the Judges of the superior

* Dr. William Dunsmoor, Messrs. John Prescott, Aaron Sawyer, Josiah Kendall, Joseph White, Nathaniel Wyman and Ebenezer Allen.

Court of this province upon the crown for their support, would if it should ever take place, have the strongest tendency to bias the minds of the Judges, and would weaken our confidence in them.

"That the extension of the power of the Court of Vice Admiralty to its present enormous degree, is a great grievance and deprives the subject, in many instances, of the noble privilege of Englishmen, trial by jury.*

In Sept. 1774, William Dunsmoor, David Wilder,† Aaron Sawyer, Asa Whitcomb, Hezekiah Gates, John Prescott and Ephraim Sawyer, were chosen as a committee of correspondence.‡ £50 were voted to buy ammunition; two field pieces were purchased, and one hundred men were raised as volunteers, to be ready, at a minute's warning, to turn out upon any emergency; to be formed into two companies and choose their own officers."

Committees were also chosen to draw up "a covenant and for non-consumption of certain articles, and to be signed by the inhabitants." Also, "to post up such persons as continue to buy, sell or consume any *East India Teas*, in some public place in town;" and, in January, 1775, to "receive subscriptions for the suffering poor of the town of Boston," cruelly oppressed by the port bill.

On the alarm of the commencement of hostilities, on the 19th of April, 1775, the company of minute men marched directly to Lexington, and the company of Cavalry§ under the command of Capt. Thomas Gates, proceeded to Cambridge, to aid in driving the British troops to Boston. The cavalry remained in Cambridge while their aid was considered necessary. Ten of their number enlisted into the service of their country in the Massachusetts line.

I have no data at hand, by which to ascertain the number of men from this town, who joined the army during the war. The demands from head quarters for soldiers were numerous and were

* In 1774, the town instructed the representative, Col. Asa Whitcomb, "not to vote for compensation to the owners of the tea destroyed, neither by tax nor by assessment on the people."

† Mr. Wilder was foreman of the grand jury that voted, April, 1774, "that should Peter Oliver, Esq. appear and act as Judge at this present Court, (Supreme Court at Worcester,) they would not proceed to business, but would utterly refuse."

‡ The committee of correspondence and safety in 1777, consisted of Col. Asa Whitcomb, Capt. Thomas Gates, Joshua Fletcher, Elisha Allen and Jacob Fairbanks.

§ Of this company James Goodwin, the oldest man in Lancaster, Moses Burpee, Samuel Sawyer, John Hawkes, Phineas Fletcher and Joseph Blood, are living. The company of minute men was commanded by Capt. Benjamin Houghton. In June following, Andrew Haskell was the Captain.

all answered by the town with great cheerfulness. Indeed, I have no reason to doubt, that at different periods of the long conflict, all the able bodied inhabitants either in person or by substitute, were in the field, in defence of their country.* Large sums of money were voted at various times, to encourage those who were drafted. Clothing for the troops and great quantities of provision were often purchased; committees were chosen to furnish the families of those who had enlisted with the necessaries and conveniences of life, and in short, great and unwearied efforts were made by the town to help on the struggle to a successful termination.† In one instance only was there any hesitation. In June, 1780, an order came from Government for a draft of forty men, for six months. When the subject was brought before the town, Josiah Kendall, a leading and flaming patriot, addressed himself to the question, and declared that the town could not furnish the supply, being exhausted by repeated efforts. Samuel Ward, Esq.‡ seeing the course that was likely to be taken, urged a compliance with the order, and was persuaded that a course which he suggested, might be adopted, that would satisfy the men to be drafted. On his motion, a Committee§ was im-

* About forty were engaged in the service over nine months; the rest were out for less terms of time, from one to nine months. Messrs. Jonathan Wilder, Silas Thurston and Jacob Z. Weares were at the taking of Burgoyne,

† Prices were annually set to every article of life. In the summer of 1777, farming labor was 3s per day, wheat 6s 8d. rye 4s 6d. per bushel—Physician fees—emetic 1s, cathartic 1s, travel 8d. per mile, visit 8d, pulling tooth do.

‡ This gentleman died August 14, 1826, aged 87. He was born in Worcester. At the age of sixteen, he entered the army, early in the French war. He was first out as a private in 1756, and rose before 1760 to be Adjutant in Col. Abijah Willard's regiment. He was at the taking of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, by Gen. Amherst, in 1759, and of Isle aux Noix and Montreal, in 1760. Towards the close of the war, he commenced business in Groton, and moved to Lancaster, in 1767. He represented the town in the General Court in 1800 and 1801, and for a great number of years served in various offices in the town.

Few individuals, who have not been extensively engaged in public life, have been so widely known. His acquaintance was sought by all. No one who ever knew him, though but slightly, could forget him. His powers of entertainment were never exhausted: his hospitality was inexhaustible. His knowledge was eminently practical, and had he enjoyed the advantages of a public education, he would have been distinguished as a Statesman. A mind of uncommon acuteness, a quick and keen perception of character, wide views of men and things, belonged to Mr. Ward, and enabled him to be highly useful as a citizen. In the daily charities of life, in giving aid to objects of public benevolence and usefulness, in distributions to the poor, he was ever active and ready. The indigent in this town have lost a valuable friend; one who for many years, week by week, ministered to their necessities, and whose good deeds will cause him to be long remembered in future years.

§ Nathaniel Balch, so celebrated for his powers of entertainment, so "merry and facetue," the life of Gov. Hancock, and the great wit of his day,

mediately chosen of which he was chairman, and they proceeded to take measures to pay the men. The bounty in addition to the wages, was sometimes paid in continental money, and, at others, in corn, beef, live stock, land, &c. At this time, the old emission compared with gold and silver, was as 68 to 1,* and as compared with the new emission, as 40 to 1. The men received their bounties, in different ways. One of them, named Dunsmoor, was asked in what he would receive his bounty. He answered that Deacon Moore, (one of the committee,) had a piece of land adjoining his own farm, and he wished to own it. "Take it," cried Moore, "take it; I'd rather part with that land, which is the best I have, than loose the whole by my neglect in aiding the cause of my country." The effort succeeded: the forty men were drafted, paid off, and commenced their march within twelve days.

In June, 1777, in pursuance of a resolve of the General Assembly, Col. Asa Whitcomb was chosen "to collect evidence against such persons as shall be deemed internal enemies to the state." Soon after, the names of a number of citizens† were placed on the list in town meeting, as being included in the above description. Most of them were afterwards stricken off. It is related of Rev. Mr. Harrington, one of the number, that when his name was added to the list, on the foolish motion of some individual, the venerable and truly excellent man, bared his breast before his people and exclaimed, "strike, strike here, with your daggers; I am a true friend to my country." The passion for proscribing innocent persons, soon subsided in a measure, and a new mode of managing the war was one of the committee. He was quite a whig, without a persecuting spirit; but not liking "guns and drums," he left Boston and resided in Lancaster, during the war. Here he was of much service in moderating the violence, oftentimes so unnecessary, but to which the feelings of patriotism frequently urged the patriots. He lived a little to the north of the church, on the Writford place.

* That is, on 16th June, 1780, one Spanish milled dollar was equal to sixty eight dollars of the old emission. On the first of April previous, the proportion was 40 to 1.

† Moses Gerrish, Daniel Allen, Ezra Houghton, Joseph Moore, Solomon Houghton, James Carter and Rev. Timothy Harrington. At the commencement of hostilities, Col. Abijah Williard, a mandamus counsellor, and his brother, Abel Williard, Esq. went to Boston, and remained there during the siege. They left the country before the war terminated. They were both very much beloved, particularly the latter, and their departure was a cause of regret to the inhabitants. Indeed, they might have remained without being molested. Like many others, believing that the contest was hopeless, and that inevitable defeat would place the country in a state of servitude, they left their homes, and when convinced that their course was not well chosen, it was too late to remedy the error.

business was devised. The examinations of the suspected were afterwards conducted by the committee of safety, where less excitement, and somewhat of a calm and dispassionate way of proceeding was introduced. No great violence however, no mobs, no riotous conduct disturbed the general state of the town. The spirit of liberty was deeply rooted and widely extended; indeed, so general was it, that it did not demand the *moral refreshing* of a mob to impart an active principle.

A number of the citizens who joined the army, were killed in battle, or died of their wounds. Of these, David Robbins was killed at Bunker Hill. Robert Phelps, wounded there, died in August, 1775: John Ballard, Abel Wyman and John Bennett, died in 1776: Jonathan Sawyer, killed in 1777: Joseph Phelps died of his wounds in 1778: he was on board an armed vessel: Joseph Wilder died on board the same vessel. There were but few officers from this town in the continental service. Col. Henry Haskell, was a native of this town, lived here most of his life and died here. The other officers were Capt. Andrew Haskell, Lieuts. John Hewitt, Winslow Phelps, Philip Corey, and Jeremeel Haskell. Andrew Haskell was a brave soldier, and deserves a passing notice. When the appeal was made to arms, he marched to Lexington as Lieutenant of the company of minute men. He joined the army soon after. He was subsequently promoted to be a Captain in the Massachusetts line, and afterwards in the continental army. He possessed but little education, and of course but little refinement, and though a candidate for higher rank, was kept from promotion by his want of proper dignity and self respect. Irritated with this treatment, he suddenly left the service. But his love of country was too powerful, to suffer him to remain idle. In the course of a few weeks, he again enlisted, and served as a common soldier in the continental army, till the peace of 1783. After this period, he lived in Lancaster till 1791, when he joined the army led by the unfortunate Major Gen. Arthur St. Clair, against the Indians northwest of the Ohio, and was killed in the memorable battle near the Miamies' villages, Nov. 3, 1791, when the American forces suffered a sad overthrow.

In Feb. 1778, the "articles of confederation and perpetual union between the colonies, were accepted on the part of the town. The various temporary constitutions for a state government, were agreed to, and the Constitution of this Commonwealth as it stood till 1821, received the assent of the town by a vote of one hundred and three, to seven, in May, 1780. In the choice of Governor the

first year, the votes were sixty nine for John Hancock, and nine for James Bowdoin.*

In April, 1781, the second precinct, formerly called Chocksett,† was incorporated into a town, by the name of Sterling. This measure was, at first, not well pleasing to the inhabitants of the old parish, because the former were unwilling to aid in the support of the French neutrals, the bridges, and poor, to which the whole town was liable. However, they of Woonkseckaukset, at last, obtained the majority, turned out the town officers in the old parish, and held the town meetings in their own precinct. This was in 1780. This state of things not being a very agreeable one, and the town records having suffered somewhat in *chirography* and *anthography* by the change of clerk, the "Pharaohs" were willing after one year's experience, "to let the people go."‡ All former causes of difference, having been done away, the inhabitants of both towns indulged towards each other, feelings of good will and kindness.

The war, as is well known, left the country in an impoverish-ed and exhausted condition. Industry had been abandoned; the old sources of trade were for a time closed; the pursuits of peace, were in strong contrast to the excitement of a protracted contest. A disbanded army, with victory for its portion, spread its influence on every side; an influence in no degree favorable to habits of peace, and the restraints of virtuous principle. Poverty was every where. A sound circulating medium, which industry alone could restore, was still wanting.

In this state of things, the town chose John Sprague, Timothy Whiting, sen'r,§ and Samuel Ward, a committee to petition for a lottery, to enable the town to repair the numerous and expensive bridges it was obliged to support. Permission for a lottery was accordingly obtained, in 1782. There were, it appears, fourteen classes drawn between that time and 1790. In the few first classes, the town was in debt to the managers; afterwards some money was obtained for the repair of bridges. No scheme of taxation could

*The highest number of votes in this town, was A. D. 1809, two hundred and ninety five. In the year 1814, two hundred and ninety four, viz: Caleb Strong had two hundred and twenty six, and Samuel Dexter had sixty eight. In 1815, two hundred and ninety two, viz: two hundred thirty nine and fifty three. The present number of voters, is more than three hundred.

† Woonksechaukset.

‡ See Worcester Magazine, vol. II. p. 44.

§ Father of the late Timothy Whiting, Esq. and General John Whiting, of this town.

have been devised more injurious and extravagant. It was paying under a fascinating prospect of gain, a much larger sum, than the citizens would have been obliged to contribute by regular rates. Nor was this all. Many will recollect the time consumed in drawing the numerous classes of this lottery, the idleness and consequent dissipation it induced, to say nothing of its natural tendency to beget a love of gaming.

1786. During the rebellion of Shays, the town was quite loyal to government, and a number of the citizens joined General Lincoln's army and continued with him till the rebels were dispersed. A delegate was sent to the county convention at Leicester, in August, 1786; and some of the proceedings of that body were accepted by the town: the articles relating to a change of the Constitution and to an issue of paper money were rejected without hesitation.

From 1790, to 1794, a hospital was kept open in town, under the direction of Dr. Israel Atherton, for the purpose of inoculating for the small pox; and in 1801, he was directed to ascertain the efficacy of the kine pock.

In 1793, a proposition to divide the County, was negatived, but three votes being cast in favor and one hundred and seven against it.

On the death of Washington, an Eulogy was delivered by Rev. Dr. Thayer; the pulpit was shrowded in black, and the audience wore emblems of mourning.

One family of the society of Shakers, a branch of the society in Shirley, resides in this town. Their reputation for good order, and industry, and consequent thrift, makes them useful citizens. With the peculiarities of their religious worship the public must be well acquainted. With due credit for their sincerity, their diligence renders them a good example in the neighborhood in which they live.

During the violence of party conflict, a greater degree of union and good fellowship was preserved here, than in many other places, and did not give rise, as, in some instances elsewhere to religious dissensions and lasting bitterness. Quiet and harmony now reign in the midst of us; the population and wealth of the town are increasing more rapidly than at any period, within the memory of our aged people. The local situation combines advantages, as a place of retirement for the man of leisure and fortune, whilst an abundance of highly productive soil renders it favorable for the pursuits of agriculture.

In 1323, the old meeting house was taken down, and a neat building, with a portico in front, was erected in its place. In this, the meetings of the town are held for all municipal purposes.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.—In the act of incorporation of the town, the General Court ordered the inhabitants “to take care that a Godly minister be maintained among them.” In the fall of the same year, (Nov. 1653,) when the allotments of land were completed, the planters entered into mutual covenants for themselves, their heirs, &c. and set apart “thirty acres of upland, forty of intervale, and twelve of meadow, forever as church lands for the use of, and towards the maintenance of the minister, pastor or teacher for the time being, or whomsoever may be stated to preach the word of God;” permitting the minister “to improve* the lands himself if he should so choose.” They further covenanted “to build a meeting house for the public assembly of the church and people of God, to worship God according to his holy ordinances;” the building to be erected “as near to the church lands and to the neck of land as can be without any notable inconvenience.” Also “to build a house for the minister on the church lands.” Each one agreed to pay ten shillings annually for his home lot towards the support of the minister, and to make up the deficiency, if any, in the salary, by an equal rate. To exclude heresy, as we have before seen, “and for the better preserving of the purity of religion, and themselves from infection of error,” they agreed “not to distribute allotments of land, nor to receive into the plantation as inhabitants, any excommunicante, or otherwise profane and scandalous, none so to be; nor any notoriously erring against the doctrine† and discipline of the churches, and the state and government of the Commonwealth.”

* The word in this sense, (occupy) was in use in New England soon after the first settlement of the country. I have met with it earlier than 1653, in a number of instances. Dr. Franklin is in error, in supposing that this corruption was not till the eighteenth century.

† Toleration was considered a high crime, both by the clergy and laity, in the seventeenth century. Our early writers discover great indignation and bitterness when they touch upon the subject. Ward, in his simple Cobler of Agawam, says, “The state that will give liberty of conscience in matters of religion, must give liberty of conscience and conversation in their moral laws, or else the fiddle will be out of tune, and some of the strings crack.” “It is likewise said that men ought to have liberty of their conscience, and that it is persecution to debar them of it. I can rather stand amazed than reply to this; it is an astonishment to think that the brains of men should be parboiled in such wilful ignorance. Let all the wits under the heavens, lay their heads together and find an assertion worse than this, (one excepted,) and I will petition to be chosen the *universal idiot of the world*.” pp. 8, 12, Ed. 1647.

"Master Joseph Rowlandson," the first minister of Lancaster, commenced bachelor at Cambridge in 1652, with all the honors of his class, as he appears to have constituted the whole of the class of that year. Of his ancestry* or the time or place of his birth, I know nothing. Cotton Mather calls him an author of "lesser composures."† What these were, I venture to say, after diligent inquiry, is not to be discovered. Mr. Rowlandson began to preach in Lancaster as early as the summer or fall of 1654. In February following, (12, 12 mo. 1654,) he subscribed the town covenant, which I have before mentioned, and received his allotment of land. The commissioners, at their meeting, April 25, 1656, directed the town to pay Mr. Rowlandson "fifty pounds by the year," taking "wheat at six pence per bushel," under the usual price, "and as God shall enlarge their estates, so shall they enlarge therein answerably," &c. In September, 1657, the Commissioners ordered the selectmen "to take care for the due encouragement of Master Rowlandson, and also for the erecting a meeting house," &c. In compliance with these orders, a house for worship was erected soon after. A town meeting was held in it in June, 1658. It was situated on the north east side of what is now the new burying ground, on the brow of the hill, opposite to Mr. Rowlandson's house, and about one third of a mile a little to the west of south of the present church. In August, 1657, the town conveyed to Mr. Rowlandson "by deed of gift," the house and land that had been set apart for the use of the ministry. After preaching in town nearly four years, he probably became discouraged as to the prospect of being invited to settle, and gave out his intention of removing from town. Whether this was done in sober earnest, or was merely to bring the town to terms, is only a matter of conjecture at this late day. The following extract from the records has some point, and perhaps will bear being quoted.

"Monday 3, 3 mo. 1658. On the certain intelligence of Master

* I may qualify this remark in a measure. Thomas Rowlandson, who, I think, was his father, died in Lancaster, Nov. 17, 1657. At the County Court in Middlesex, April, 1658, "Mr. Joseph Rowlandson brought into Court the inventory of his father's estate, and had Administration granted to him." By another entry in April Term, 1659, it appears that "the return of Mr. Rowlandson and his brethren concerning their father's estate, was accepted." His brother Thomas was killed, as we have seen, when the town was destroyed.

† "Not only have we had a Danforth, a Nathaniel Mather, a Hoar, a Rowlandson, &c. the authors of lesser composures out of their modest studies, even as with a Cæsarean section, forced into light; but also we have had an Hubbard, an Isaac Chauncey, a Willard, a Stoddard, the authors of larger composures." *Magnalia*, book 4, part I.

Rowlandson's removing from us, the selectmen treated with him to know what his mind was, and his answer was, his apprehensions were clearer for his going than for staying. They replied they feared his apprehensions were not well grounded, but desired to know his resolution. He said his resolutions were according to his apprehensions, for ought he knew. Then the selectmen, considering it was a case of necessity for the town to look out for other supply, told Master Rowlandson, that now they did look upon themselves as destitute of a minister, and should be forced to endeavor after some other ; so discharging him.

"Friday 14, 3 mo. 1658.* A messenger came from Billerica to fetch Master Rowlandson away ;† upon which, the town having notice given them, came together with intent to desire him to stay and settle amongst us : and, after some debate, it was voted as follows :

"1. Whether it were the mind of the town to invite Master Rowlandson to abide and settle amongst them in the work of the ministry. The vote was affirmative by the hands of all held up.

"2. Whether it was their mind to allow him for maintenance fifty pounds a year, one half in wheat, six pence in the bushel under the current prices at Boston and Charlestown, and the rest in other good current pay, in like proportions ; or, otherwise, fifty five pounds a year taking his pay at such rates as the prices of corn are set every year by the Court. The vote was affirmative by the hands of all held up.

"3. Whether they were willing that Master Rowlandson should have the dwelling house which he lived in as his own proper right according to the deed made by the town and confirmed by the committee ; with the point of land westward, and some land west, and some north, of his house, for an orchard, garden, yards, pasture and the like.

"This was put to the vote and granted by the major part, (and opposed by none but old Goodman Kerley,‡ only there was a *neuter*

* Mr. Harrington says this was April 14, 1658. This is a mistake : the original record, in Ralph Houghton's hand writing, is distinct, 14, 3 mo. (May) 1658.

† The meaning is, that he was invited to preach in Billerica. Afterwards, in the same year, Rev. Samuel Whiting began to preach there, and was ordained in April, 1663. "Hist. Memoir of Billerica," by John Farmer Esq. pp. 8—9.

‡ Goodman Kerley (William Kerley, senior,) seems to have continued in a wrathful state of mind for some time ; for though one of the number appointed to manage the municipal concerns of the town, he did not attend the meetings of his brethren ; it being a usual entry in the records that the Selectmen met at such a time and place, all excepting Goodman Kerley.

or two) with this proviso, that it hindered not the burying place, the highway, convenient space to pass to the river, and the land* intended to be for the next minister, &c.

“And upon this, Master Rowlandson accepted of the towns invitation, and gave them thanks for their grant, and agreed to the motion, concerning his maintenance, and promised to abide with us in the best manner the Lord should enable him to improve his gifts in the work of the ministry.”

Mr. Rowlandson was, there is reason to believe, a man of good talents and a faithful minister.† Cotton Mather and all traditions are in his favor. I can gather no particulars relative to his ministry: the early records of the town being lost, and those of the church probably consumed, when the town was destroyed. Nothing can be found relative to his ordination.

Mr. Harrington supposes that Mr. Rowlandson was ordained the same year that he accepted the invitation of the town. But there is reason to believe that this did not take place till September, 1660, more than two years after. The church, it seems, was not organized till that time. This is a fair inference from the entry in the records of Dorchester, that on the “26th August, 1660, Roger Sumner was dismissed” from the church in Dorchester, “that with other christians, at Lancaster, a church might be formed there.”‡ Church is here spoken of as distinct from congregation. At that period, the law of 1641 was in force, which first established the right to gather churches, vesting in them the power of electing the pastor, &c.—and according to the Cambridge platform, chap. ix. s. 3, 4, 5, Ordination, which was by imposition of hands, was to be performed by the elders of the church; and if there were no elders, then by some of the brethren selected for that purpose, or, if *the church desire it*, by the elders of other churches.

No instance under the law of 1641 occurs to me, in which a minister was ordained without the intervention of the church; the strictness that was then introduced continued many years, and was kept in full vigor by an explanatory statute in 1668. It is then a reasonable supposition in the absence of all opposing testimony,

* This probably was the land opposite to the residence of the late Samuel Ward Esq. and extending towards the north east, and next to John Prescott's estate.

† Mary Gates, daughter of Stephen Gates, of Lancaster, “for bold and unbecoming speeches used in the public assemblies, and especially against Mr. Rowlandson, the minister of God's word there,” upon evidence of John Prescott and others, was convicted. She acknowledged the offence and was discharged on paying for the attendance of the witnesses. Middlesex County Court Records, 1658

‡ 1 Mass. Hist. Col. ix. 192

that the ordination did not take place earlier than September, 1660.

Mr. Rowlandson was the minister of the town till it was destroyed in Philip's war, as has been already related. His wife, after being a prisoner eleven weeks and five days, was ransomed early in May, 1676, and lived in Charlestown and Boston, with her husband about a year. Probably in May, 1677, they moved to Weathersfield, in Connecticut. Mr. Rowlandson preached there a while, and died before Lancaster was resettled.* The name of Rowlandson is not common; and I am not able to say whether there are any descendants of the worthy minister living.†

After the town was re-settled, and for seven years, the pulpit was supplied by Mr. Carter (probably Samuel Carter, Harvard University, 1660) William Woodrop,‡ and Mr. Oakes.§ Mr. Woodrop was one of the two thousand ministers turned out of their benefices under the act of conformity, on St. Bartholemew's day, 1662. He came over to New England, says Cotton Mather, "after the persecution which then hurricanoed such as were non-conformists." He was never settled in this town, although from Mather and Neal, it would seem otherwise.

In Feb. 1688, Mr. John Whiting was invited to preach as a candidate; he continued to supply the pulpit till Nov. 1690, when he was invited to settle, and undoubtedly was ordained soon after.‖

* The following is a list of his children, as far as I can ascertain. I cannot assert that it is complete.

Mary, born 15, 11, 1657, (Jan. 1659) died 20, 11, 1660, (Jan. 1661.)

Mary born 12, 6 mo. (August) 1665. She was taken captive, at the same time with her mother, and made her escape in May, 1676.

Joseph, born 7, 1, (March) 1661. In a deed of his, July 1, 1686, to John Wilder, ancestor of the present Mr. Jonathan Wilder, he calls himself "of Lancaster yeoman." This proves nothing. He is not mentioned in any of the rates at that period, and I doubt whether he resided here, after the restoration in the spring of 1680. It appears by Whitney that he was one of the original purchasers of Rutland, 22d December, 1686. That town, however, was not settled till thirty years, or more, afterwards.

Sarah, born Sept. 15, 1669. Wounded by the Indians when her mother was taken captive, she died at New Braintree, on the ninth day afterwards.

† One of the name *bit off a man's ear* last June in Belfast, Maine. I trust, however, that no one from the stock of Master Joseph Rowlandson, could be so mordacious.

‡ Magnalia B. III. Neal's New England, Chap. VIII. Harrington spells the name, Wooddroffe.

§ This may have been Edward Oakes, Harvard University, 1679.

‖ It was not usual during the first age of the New England Church, or indeed through the seventeenth century, to have a discourse preached at ordination. And when the practice was introduced, the minister elect preached it himself.

The town voted, in Feb. 1638, to build a house for their minister, payment to be made "one eighth in money; the rest, one half in work, and one half in corn, viz. Indian, one third, and English two thirds, at country price, or other merchantable pay." When the building was finished, the town gave Mr. Whiting possession in this way, viz. "at a town meeting Jan 3, 1690, agreed to make conveyance to Mr. Whiting of the house and land formerly granted by the town. And the town the same time went out of the house, and gave Mr. John Whiting possession thereof in behalf of the whole above written, formerly granted by the town."* After serving faithfully more than nine years, he was killed as has been before related, by the Indians, Sept. 11, 1697, aged thirty three. I can give no particulars touching his ministry; the records of town, church and propriety, being wanting during this period.†

Mr. Whiting was the second son of Rev. Samuel Whiting, of Billerica, and was born in that town, August or Sept. 1, 1664, and graduated at Harvard University, 1685. He probably received his name from that of his grandmother, Elizabeth St. John, wife of Rev. Samuel Whiting of Lynn. It was necessary to sink the St. lest it should seem an acknowledgment of the authority of the Pope and his power of canonization. Our fathers even when they spake of the Apostles, and the holy fathers of the early church, did not use the addition of "Saint."‡

On the death of Mr. Whiting, the pulpit was supplied by Messrs. Robinson, Jones and Whitman, till the year 1701. The first of these, Mr. John Robinson, was afterwards settled at Duxbury, in Nov. 1702, and continued there till his death, in 1731.§ "Mr. Jones," says Mr. Harrington, "was invited to settle,|| but, difficulties arising, his ordination was prevented and he removed." Mr. Samuel Whitman was of the class of 1696, Harvard University, and

* This house was pleasantly situated opposite to the house of the late Samuel Ward, Esq. It was taken down a few years ago. Those who paid the highest rates towards this building, were John Moore, Jr. John Houghton, Henry Kerley, Thomas Wilder, Deac. Roger Sumner, Josiah Whitcomb, Ephraim Roper, &c.

† Oliver Whiting, Esq. his brother, in January, 1717, petitioned the proprietors to have a record made of Rev. Mr. Whiting's land at Rock Meadow, and, also, to do what further was necessary for ratifying the bargain between his sister Alice and the town. A committee was chosen who gave him a deed in February following.

‡ Hutchinson, and J. Farmer.

§ 1. Mass. Hist. Col. IX. 183.

|| May not this have been John Jones, Harvard University, 1690? What the difficulties were, is not known.

in 1699, was a school master in Salem. He was afterwards settled in the ministry.

In May, 1701, Mr. Andrew Gardner was invited to preach, and in the following September received an invitation to be the minister of the town. He preached in town, to great acceptance, for a number of years. Mr. Gardner was unfortunately killed by one of his society, Oct. 26, 1704, as has been already mentioned. He was soon to be ordained when this unfortunate occurrence brought sorrow upon the town. Why his ordination was so long deferred does not appear. It was indeed not customary to have this ceremony follow so soon after the invitation, as at the present day: but the delay was unusual even for that period. Tradition speaks in praise of Mr. Gardner; and Mr. Harrington remarks that he died, "to the great grief not only of his consort, but of his people, who had an exceeding value for him."* The late Wm. Winthrop, in his manuscript catalogue, says that Mr. Gardner "was the son of Capt. Andrew Gardner who was killed in Canada."†

Mr. Hancock also, in his sermon preached at the installation of Mr. Harrington, speaks of him as "son of the worthy Capt. Andrew Gardner, who miscarried in an expedition to Canada, under Sir William Phips." Mr. Gardner was but thirty years of age when he died. He was born, I have reason to believe, in that part of Cambridge, which is now Brighton,‡ and graduated at Harvard University, 1696, in the same class with Samuel Whitman. He is not in *italicks* in the catalogue of the University, because he never received ordination.

On the 31st July, 1704, a short time before Mr Gardner's death, the meeting house was burnt by the Indians. This as I have already mentioned, escaped destruction in Philip's war and was the first house of public worship in town.

From the records of the General Court, it appears that some difficulty attended the erection of a second building. For, on the 28th December, 1704, the Court voted to allow the town forty pounds towards a new building, as soon as the inhabitants should erect a frame. And on petition of sundry of the inhabitants, referring to the place of setting the building, a committee was chosen "to hear

* See also Mr. Hancock's sermon, mentioned below.

† Letter of James Savage, Esq. Aug. 1826. The first Judge Joseph Wilder and his brother, Col. James Wilder, married sisters of Rev. Mr. Gardner. Ten acres of land, in town, were set off by the proprietors to his heirs in 1747.

‡ Letter from Rev. Mr. Homer of Newton.

the parties, and report." In May, 1706, John Houghton, Esq. the Representative of the town for that year, petitioned that "the restriction might be taken off against the said town's proceeding in the finishing of their meeting house in the place where they had raised a frame for that use." The request was granted, and the building was probably completed that year. It was situated on the Old Common, so called, opposite to the second burying ground.*

In May following Mr. Gardner's death, Mr. John Prentice commenced preaching in Lancaster. He continued to supply the pulpit until February, 1707, when he was invited to become the minister of the town. The invitation he accepted, and was ordained March 29, 1708. On the same day, previous to the ordination, a covenant was signed by the members of the church, general in its nature, binding those who professed it, to holy lives, with watchfulness of each other's conduct, acknowledging the equality of the churches, and the sufficiency of holy scripture, and refraining from the injunction of particular doctrines as necessary to enable one to participate in the ordinances. It is reasonable to suppose that the earlier covenants were not more technical and precise, and that, while due regard was paid to Orthodox faith,† christian liberty was regarded as a sacred right.‡

In 1726 and 1727, motions to build a new house of worship were negatived. Another attempt for a new building where the first meeting house stood, or on School House hill, where the town house now stands, was made without success, in 1733, and 1737. A motion for one on the west side of the Neck, and another on the east side of the river, was negatived in 1734. A new petition in 1741, for two buildings, one for the accommodation of the mile and the south part of the town, and another for the remaining inhabi-

* This burying field was given by Capt. Thomas Wilder, who died in 1717. He was the eldest son of Thomas Wilder, the first settler of the name. The old burying ground, was probably separated for that use as early as 1653. The third, was purchased of Rev. Dr. Thayer and Hon. John Sprague, in 1793.

† March, 1731—Town voted to buy Rev. Pres. Samuel Willard's "Body of Divinity, to be kept in the meeting house for the town's use, so that any person may come there and read therein as often as they shall see cause, and said book is not to be carried out of the meeting house, at any time, except by order of the selectmen or the town." This divine was son of Major Willard before named, one of the original purchasers of Concord, and great grand father of the late President Willard, of Harvard University.

‡ Nov. 1734—voted, that any desirous of admission to full communion, and declining to make a relation of his or her experiences, may be admitted by making a written confession of their faith. Church Records.

tants, met with the same fate. However, in January, 1742, at a town meeting called by a magistrate, it was voted, to build two houses, according to the petition of 1741, viz. one of them for the new precinct near Ridge hill in Woonksechauckset, and the other, on School House hill.

March 8, 1742, the old or first parish formed itself into a precinct, and chose officers. The new building in the first parish was completed in 1743.* It contained thirty three pews on the lower floor, with many long seats, as was usual at that day.

The church and town were in great harmony during the ministry of Mr. Prentice. In 1746, his health began to fail, and, from that period to the time of his death, his pulpit was supplied by Messrs. Benjamin Stevens, William Lawrence, Cotton Brown, and Stephen Frost.† He died much lamented, January 6, 1746, aged 66, "after a life of much service and faithfulness."‡ He is said to have possessed great dignity and severity of manners, and to have been bold, direct, and pointed in his style of preaching.§ "God gave him the tongue of the learned" said Mr. Hancock, "so he knew how to speak a word unto him that was weary; the God of the spirits of all flesh fitted him for his work, and taught him how

* The committee consisted of Joseph Wilder, Samuel Willard, Josiah White, Oliver Wilder and William Richardson. The parish granted £1045, 5s. 3d. old tenor, to build the church; the actual cost was £363, 3s. 7d.

† Benjamin Stevens, S. T. D. was a native of Charlestown, and minister of Kittery, in Maine. Graduated Harvard University, 1740. Mr. Lawrence Harvard University, 1743. Mr. Brown, Harvard University, 1743, born in Haverhill, and minister in Brookline. Mr. Frost, Harvard University, 1739. The same who is mentioned ante in note p. He was a member of Mr. Prentice's church.

‡ Mr. Prentice was twice married. His first wife was Mrs. Mary Gardner, widow of his predecessor. Their sons were Staunton, Thomas and John. Mary, the eldest daughter, married Rev. Job Cushing, minister of Shrewsbury, March, 1727; Elizabeth, Mr. Daniel Robbins, of the west parish, and after his death, Capt. Curtis, of Worcester; Sarah, Dr. Smith, and afterwards Col. Brigham of Southborough. The second wife was Mrs. Prudence Swan, mother of Rev. Josiah Swan, before mentioned. She was born in Charlestown, and her maiden name was Foster. Prudence, a daughter, married Josiah Brown, of the west parish, a graduate at Cambridge. Relief, married Rev. John Rogers, minister of Leominster, March, 1750. Rebecca, married Rev. John Mellen, of the west parish.

§ He preached a number of occasional sermons, viz. an Election sermon, May 23, 1735, from 2 Chron. III. 4, 5 and part of 6th verses, which was printed. A sermon at the opening of the first Court in the County of Worcester, Aug. 10, 1731, from 2 Chron. XIX. 6, 7. A sermon at the ordination of Rev. Ebenezer Parkman, Oct. 28, 1724, from 2 Cor. XII. 15. A funeral discourse, at Marlborough, on occasion of the death of Rev. Robert Breck, Jan. 1731.

he ought to behave himself in the house of God. They that knew him esteemed him for his piety, his probity, his peaceableness, and gentleness, and for his commendable steadiness in these uncertain times. He was a practical, scriptural, profitable preacher. As to his secular affairs, with the help of that PRUDENCE,* God gave him, he managed them with discretion." Mr. Prentice was a native of Newton. He graduated at Cambridge in the class of 1700, which contains the names of Winthrop, Bradstreet, Hooker, Whiting, Robert Breck, &c. His father was Mr. Thomas Prentice of Newton, who married Mary Staunton. Thomas Prentice, a brave and distinguished commander of a corps of cavalry in Philip's war, was a relation. Thomas, the father, died Nov. 6th, 1722, aged 93. He had been, according to tradition, together with Captain Prentice and another relation of the same name, one of Oliver Cromwell's Body Guard. By an ancient manuscript, in the possession of Rev. Mr. Homer of Newton, it appears that Mr. Prentice (without doubt Rev. John Prentice) was admitted to the church in Newton, March 14, 1703, and taken out the same day. His relation was then, I presume, transferred to the church in Lancaster, over which he was ordained Monday, March 29, 1703.†

On the fourth of January, 1748, a few days before the death of Mr. Prentice, it was voted to settle a colleague "if God should spare their minister's life." Thursday the 21st was set apart for a day of fasting and prayer, and the neighboring ministers, Messrs. Gardner, Secomb, Rogers, Goss, and Mellen, were desired to assist on the occasion. Feb. 28, 1748, the society united with the church in inviting Mr. Cotton Brown to be their minister; and voted to give him £2000 old tenor, to enable him to purchase a parsonage, and £480 old tenor for his annual salary. Mr. Brown probably declined the offer;‡ for, on the 8th August following, they voted to hear no more candidates till they came to a choice, and desired the church to select one from those who had already preached. Accordingly, on the same day, the church made choice of the Rev. Timothy Harrington, with but two dissenting votes, and the society immediately concurred in the choice. They offered him £1000,

* His second wife. She died, July, 1765.

† For what relates to the parentage of Mr. Prentice, I am indebted to Rev. Mr. Homer of Newton, and John Mellen Esq. of Cambridge.

Mr. Prentice's salary in 1717, was £70: 1718, £85: 1726, £100: 1731, £130: 1737, £210, old tenor: the same in 1744, 5 and 6, "in the present currency."

‡ He was ordained at Brookline, Oct. 6, 1743, died, April 13, 1751.

old tenor, as a settlement, or £2000 for the purchase of a parsonage, and the same salary* that was offered to Mr. Brown. Mr. Harrington accepted the invitation, and was installed Nov. 16, 1748. The sermon was preached by Rev. John Hancock, of Lexington.† Thirteen churches were represented by their "Elders and delegates, viz: Mr. Loring's of Sudbury, Mr. Gardner's of Stow, Mr. Stone's of Southborough, Mr. Parkman's of Westborough, Mr. Secomb's of Harvard, Mr. Goss' of Bolton, Mr. Rogers' of Leominster, Mr. Mellen's of the west parish, (Sterling,) Rev. Dr. Appleton's of Cambridge, Mr. Hancock's of Lexington, Mr. Williams' of Waltham, Mr. Storer's of Watertown, and Mr. Stearn's of Lunenburg."

Mr. Harrington had been the minister at Lower Ashuelot or Swansey, in New Hampshire. That town was destroyed, April 2, 1747, and the inhabitants were scattered. Monday, Oct. 4, 1748, his church met at Rutland, Mass. and gave their former pastor a dismission and warm recommendation to the first church in Lancaster. The letter was signed by Nathaniel Hammond, Timothy Brown, and Jonathan Hammond, and was highly acceptable to the church in this town.

During the ministry of Mr. Harrington, great changes took place in the state of society in New England. No period of our history is fraught with greater interest and instruction. Ancient simplicity was yielding to the alterations, if not the refinements, in manners, induced by a widening intercourse with the world, the increase of general intelligence, and the number of well educated men. The profession of law had acquired weight and influence, and its members were taking the lead in all that related to the political existence and improvement of the provinces. An inquisitive spirit began to stir in the church, which is still active and busy, under a change of the points of discussion.

I do not find that the introduction of instrumental music as a part of public worship, or the change in the mode of singing, gave rise to any uneasiness in the parish.‡ Not so however with the intro-

* The salary was annually settled by the price of the principal articles of life, £480 old tenor, equal to £64 lawful money, or \$213 33. For a few years the salary was as high as \$300.

† This sermon was printed. The text was from 1. Cor. IX. 19. Mr. Hancock was father of Rev. John Hancock of Braintree, and Grandfather of Gov. Hancock.

‡ Except Mr. Wheelock used to shake his head, when the pitch pipe was sounded, and Thomas Holt would leave the house at the sound of the pitch pipe, or when "funeral thought" was sung.

duction of the "New Version." Many were grieved because of the change, and two individuals proceeded further. The version of Sternhold and Hopkins,* the first metrical version of the Psalms, in English, was never used in this town. This was not in high repute; Eliot, Welde, and Richard Mather, in 1639, attempted a translation, but their labors were not valued; and President Dunster, the following year, was called upon to revise the collection. His improved version was the one in use in most of the New England Churches for many years—and, in Lancaster, till the time of Mr. Harrington. Probably about the year 1763, the collection by Tate and Brady was introduced. Early in 1665, a complaint was made that one of the members of the church, Moses Osgood, with his wife, Martha, had been absent from the communion service more than a year. On being inquired of by the church, why they absented themselves from the Supper, they sent a written reply, in which they say that the reason is, "the bringing in of the New Version, as we think, not in a prudent and regular way. Also we find, in said Version, such words and expressions as are unknown by us, so that we cannot sing with the understanding also. The composers of the said version, we find, have taken too great a liberty to themselves, as we think, to depart from the scriptures. And as for the hymns taken from the other parts of the bible, we know of no warrent in the bible for them, and shall humbly wait on such as are the maintainers of them to produce and demonstrate the warrantableness for them from the word of God. We are therefore waiting the removing or in some way or other the satisfying the above said doubts; for they are a matter of grievance to us, and we think we are wronged in our highest interest, &c." Further complaint was made against them, that they had declared "the church had broken their covenant with them, in bringing in the New Version of the Psalms, which they affirmed to be made for *Papists and Arminians, to be full of heresy, and in an unknown tongue.*" Also, that "Mr. Harrington asserted at the conference meeting, that he was one half the church, and that he would disannul the meeting."

For this second charge, the offenders made satisfaction; but on the first, the evidence that was adduced to exculpate, being consid-

*Thomas Sternhold, a Court poet, translated 51 psalms. John Hopkins, a clergyman, 58. The other contributors were, principally, William Whyttingham, Dean of Durham, and Thomas Norton, a Barrister. See 3 Ellis' specimens of the early English Poets, p. 116.

ered insufficient, and no excuse being offered, the church voted an admonition and "suspension." The wife afterwards (1780, May,) came forward, made explanations that were deemed satisfactory, and was restored. The husband probably continued steadfast in adhering to the old version by President Duaster. I do not find that he forsook his first love, or that his suspension was broken off.*

Many of the clergy, of Mr. Harrington's time, had departed from the standard of faith professed by the churches in general, from the first settlement of New England. The prevailing doctrines from the beginning were those of Calvin, and it required no ordinary moral courage, seventy years ago, for any one to break asunder the shackles of religious dogmas that had encompassed all, and come out in the independent and conscientious avowal of a new system of doctrine. The people were not prepared for a sudden change of the faith which had been handed down from parent to child, for many generations, and which had collected veneration in its progress and by its long continuance. Most of the clergy, in this vicinity, who embraced the tenets of Arminius, soon found that the age was not arrived that would tolerate a departure from the metaphysical speculations of the old school. They were obliged, therefore, as honest men, to avow their sentiments, at whatever hazard, and in consequence, to relinquish their pastoral relations to their persuasion of the truth. Mr. Harrington however, who was of this class of believers, was regarded with singular affection by his people, and in that way probably, escaped the fate of his brethren.†

A history of this period in our Ecclesiastical affairs, impartially and faithfully written, would be a work of great interest to exhibit the spirit of inquiry and speculation, then just starting into existence, tracing it from its beginning, and shewing how the excitement of political discussion that was preparing the way for national independence, opened the mind to general inquiry in other subjects, especially to those relating to the true interests of man.

* He died, March 10, 1776. Rev. Zabdiel Adams of Lunenburg, in 1771, delivered a discourse in Lancaster, "on the nature, pleasures and advantages of Church Music." This was probably about the time of the change introduced in the mode of singing, &c. See page 87, Note. The discourse was printed. Watt's superseded Tate and Brady, and Belknap, Watts in Lancaster.

† In justice however, it should be stated, that his conduct at this time was not decided and manly. Although fully an Arminian, he displeased many, at the time, by the temporising course he adopted. He was of the council assembled to decide upon the difficulties at Leominster, and voted for the dismissal of Mr. Rogers, a theologian of the same persuasion.

The difficulties in Bolton resulted in the dismissal of Rev. Mr. Goss, the minister, by a majority of the church in that place. To this cause they seem to have been driven by the course pursued by the Ecclesiastical council, which acquitted Mr. Goss of the charges brought against him—charges which, it seems, were true—at least sufficiently so to disqualify him for the duties of his holy office. The Council, besides, passed a censure on those who had dismissed Mr. Goss, and attempted to exclude them from partaking of christian privileges in other churches. The ground work of the whole difficulty was an effort, on the part of the clergy, to assume an arbitrary and irresponsible power over the laity, which led to a proper resistance on the part of the latter. In June, 1772, Samuel Baker, Ephraim Fairbanks, and Nathaniel Longley, a Committee in behalf of the Church in Bolton, sent a letter to the first Church in Lancaster, containing a clear and satisfactory defence of their proceedings, as “not being a usurped authority, but as being the practice of the primitive churches—as being allowed by their own platform,—but still, a power they were unwilling to exercise, unless reduced to real necessity.” They then inquire whether they are to be excluded from communion with other churches, and to be condemned without being heard. This letter was laid by Mr. Harrington, before his church, and the following is a copy of the proceedings. “At a meeting of the first Church in Lancaster, by adjournment, on July 21, 1772, voted as follows—Whether this church be so far in charity with the brethren of Bolton, whose letter is before them, as to be willing to receive them to communion with them in special ordinances occasionally.”

Passed in the affirmative. Which vote was nonconcurrent by the Pastor as follows:—“Brethren, I think myself bound in duty to God, to the Congregational churches in general, to this church, in particular and to my own conscience, to declare, which I now do before you, that I cannot concur with this vote.

“This vote shall be recorded, but my nonconcurrence must be recorded with it. And as the brethren from Bolton now see your charitable sentiments towards them, I hope they will be so far satisfied. But as the church act in their favor is not *perfected*, I hope they will not offer themselves to communion with us, till their society is in a more regular state.”

Mr. Harrington continued to live in harmony with his people, during a long and useful ministry: no lasting disturbance injured his good influence; no root of bitterness sprang up between him

and his people. He is represented as having possessed respectable powers of mind, with great mildness and simplicity of character. Liberal in his feelings, he practised charity in its extended, as well as its narrow sense. True piety and an habitual exercise of the moral and social virtues, rendered him highly useful in his sacred office, and an interesting and instructive companion in the common walks of life.

In 1787, Mr. Harrington, being quite advanced in life, received some aid from the town, in the discharge of his duties. From March, 1791, till the following spring, the gentlemen, who, in part, supplied the pulpit, were Messrs. Alden Bradford, H. U. 1786, afterwards settled at Wiscasset—now residing in Boston, and late Secretary of State; Thaddeus M. Harris, H. U. 1787, S. T. D. now a minister in Dorchester; Daniel C. Saunders, H. U. 1788, President of Burlington College, now minister in Medfield; and Rev. Joseph Davis.

In March, 1792, it was voted to settle a colleague with Rev. Mr. Harrington, and a committee was appointed to wait upon Mr. Harrington, touching his inclination respecting a colleague, &c. and to supply the desk for twelve weeks.* In July, 1792, "voted that the town will hear Mr. Thayer† a further time. June 3, 1792, the town voted unanimously to concur with the church, in giving him an invitation to be their minister, with a settlement of £200, and a salary of £90, during Mr. Harrington's life time, and £120 (\$400‡) after his decease. The invitation was accepted in a letter dated Cambridge, July 11, 1793. The ordination was Oct. 9, 1793.§ The sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Osgood, of Medford, from Acts xx. 27. The other services were as follows, viz: Introductory prayer by Rev. Dr. Belknap; consecrating prayer, by Rev. Mr. Whitney; Charge, by Rev. Mr. Jackson; Right hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Emerson; Concluding prayer, by Rev. Dr. Clark. The following were the churches present: Leominster,

*The other gentlemen who preached here before the invitation given to the present minister, were Rev. Thomas Gray, D. D. of Roxbury, Rev. Hezekiah Packard, D. D. of Wiscasset, Maine, Rev. Aaron Green, of Malden, Rev. Hezekiah Goodrich, of Rutland, Rev. Thomas C. Thatcher, formerly of Lynn.

† H. U. 1789. Tutor, S. T. D.

‡ In 1804, \$510; 1805, \$400; 1811, raised permanently to \$525.

§ Messrs. Joseph Wales, Oliver Carter, and Eli Stearns, were thanked by the town "for their timely and useful exertions in preparing suitable provision, &c. for the ordaining council, and for the polite manner in which they conducted the business of attending upon them, and it was voted, that their freely rendering this service be recorded in grateful remembrance of their generosity."

Rev. Francis Gardner; Lunenburg, Rev. Zabdiel Adams; Shirley, Rev. Phinehas Whitney; Harvard, Rev. William Emerson; Bolton, Rev. Phinehas Wright; Berlin, Rev. Reuben Puffer, D. D.; Sterling, Rev. Reuben Holcomb; Worcester, Rev. Aaron Bancroft, D. D.; Brookline, Rev. Joseph Jackson; Newburyport, Rev. Thomas Cary, Rev. John Andrews, D. D.; Medford, Rev. David Osgood, D. D.; Cambridge, Rev. Abiel Holms, D. D.; Boston, First Church, Rev. John Clarke, D. D.; Federal Street, Rev. Jeremy Belknap, D. D.; New North Church, Rev. John Eliot, D. D.

Mr. Harrington, preached but little during the last five years of his life. After being in an infirm state of health for some time, he died, December 13, 1795, in the 80th year of his age. A sermon was preached by his colleague and successor, at the funeral, Dec. 23, from 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8, and was afterwards printed.*

Mr. Harrington was born in Waltham, Feb. 10, 1716, and graduated, Harvard University, 1737, in a distinguished class. He was first ordained, as we have already seen, at Swansey, in New Hampshire. After leaving Swansey, he preached in this town and other places as a candidate, till his settlement here, in Nov. 1648.

The building that had been used as a house for public worship from 1743, being old, and inconvenient, the town voted, Dec. 4, 1815, to erect a new building of brick. A farm a little to the northeast of the old house was purchased of Benjamin Lee, Esq. by a number of individuals, and two acres were conveyed by them to the town for the sum of \$633 33, as appraised by Messrs. James Wilder, Moses Thomas and Thomas H. Blood, of Sterling. Messrs. Eli Stearns, Jacob Fisher, and William Cleaveland, were chosen a

* Further, as to his character, see the above sermon, also two others from the same hand, printed Feb. 1817. Mr. Harrington's printed discourses, besides his Century Sermon, May 23, 1753, Psalm CXIX. 1, 2, were, "Prevailing wickedness, and distressing judgments, ill-boding symptoms on a stupid people." Hosea, vii. 9. Also, one at Princeton, Dec. 23, 1759, from 1 Cor. vii. 15.

Mr. Harrington was twice married. His first wife was Anna Harrington, of Lexington, a cousin, born June 2, 1716, and died, May 19, 1778. Their children were Henrietta, born at Lexington, 1744, and married John Locke, of Templeton, brother to President Locke, of the University; Arethusa born at Lexington, 1747. Eusebia, born at Lancaster, May 1751—married Paul Richardson, sometime of this place; afterwards of Winchester, N. H. Timothy, born Sept. 1753. H. U. 1776, a physician in Chelmsford, died, Feb. 26, 1804. His only son, Rufus, died in Boston, eighteen or nineteen years since. Dea. Thomas Harrington, born Nov. 1755, now living in Heath. Anna, born July, 1758, married Dr. Bridge, a physician in Petersham, son of Rev. Mr. Bridge of Framingham. After his death, she was married to Joshua Fisher, M. D. M. S. &c. of Beverly. They are both living. Mr. Harrington had other children who died in infancy. His second wife was widow of Rev. Mr. Bridge, of Framingham.

building committee. In January, 1816, it was voted, that the new church should contain not more than 4,400, nor less than 4,200 square feet, and that there should be a porch and portico, of such size as the committee should approve.

After the spot for the new church was selected, difficulties occurred in deciding whether the front of the building should be towards the west, or south. After much discussion, and various votes on the subject, at a number of different meetings, the parties agreed to abide by the decision of certain gentlemen from other towns mutually selected for the purpose.

The opinion of these gentlemen was in favor of a south entrance, and their decision being final, was acquiesced in after a short time.

The corner stone was laid July 9, 1816. A silver plate with this inscription was deposited beneath—"Fourth house built in Lancaster for the worship of God. Corner stone laid, July 9, 1816. May God make our ways prosperous, and give us good success. Rev. Nathaniel Thayer, pastor of our Church." A previous address was made by the pastor: 37th psalm, Belknap's collection, was sung, and prayer by the pastor concluded the exercises. The building was dedicated on the first day of January, A. D. 1817. Introductory prayer by Rev. Mr. Capen, of Sterling, "who also read the prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the temple." Dedicatory prayer, by Rev. Dr. Bancroft, of Worcester. Sermon, by the pastor of the Society, from Ephesians, ii. 19, 20, 21, 22. Concluding prayer, by Rev. Mr. Allen, of Bolton.

From a description of the building published at the time, I extract the following :—

The design of the edifice was by Charles Bulfinch, Esq.* of Boston. The body of the building is 74 by 66 feet, with a porch, portico, tower and cupola. The portico is 48 by 17 feet, of square brick columns, arched with pilasters, entablature, and pediment of the Doric order; the vestibule, or porch, is 48 by 19 feet and contains the gallery stairs; the tower is 21 feet square; the cupola is circular, and of singular beauty ;—it is surrounded with a colonade of 12 fluted pillars, with entablature, and cornice, of the Ionic order; above which is an Attic encircled with a festoon drapery, the whole surmounted by a dome, balls, and vane. The height from the ground is about 120 feet. Inside, the front of the gallery is of balustrade work, and is supported by ten fluted pillars of the Doric order, and has a clock in front, presented by a gentle-

* Now National Architect at Washington.

man of the society.* The pulpit rests on eight fluted columns, and four pilasters of the Ionic order: the upper section is supported by six Corinthian columns also fluted, and is lighted by a circular headed window, ornamented with double pilasters fluted; entablature and cornice of the Corinthian order; this is decorated with a curtain and drapery from a Parisian model, which, with the materials, were presented by a friend;† they are of rich green figured satin. A handsome Pulpit Bible was presented also by a friend,‡ and a bell, weighing 1300 lbs. was given by gentlemen of the town.

The following is a complete list of baptisms and admissions to full communion from March 29, 1708, to the present time.

Baptisms during Rev. Mr. Prentice's ministry,	1593
From his death, Jan. 1748, to settlement of Rev. Mr. } Harrington, Nov. 16, 1748.	38
During Rev. Mr. Harrington's ministry,	1531
From the ordination of Rev. Dr. Thayer, to the pre- } sent time,	862
Total,	<hr/> 4024
Admissions during Rev. Mr. Prentice's ministry,	331
“ “ Rev. Mr. Harrington's, “	478
“ “ Rev. Dr. Thayer's “	307
Total,	<hr/> 1116

The town of Lancaster has ever enjoyed singular peace and harmony in its religious affairs. No Ecclesiastical council, so often the cause of bitterness at the present day, has ever been held within our limits, except for the purpose of assisting at ordinations. Within the present bounds of the town, there is, and never has been but one regular and incorporated religious society, and that of the Congregational denomination.

Individuals here, as well as in other towns, make use of the facilities which the law affords them and join themselves to other persuasions. In many instances, it is not to be doubted, this is done from conscientious motives—in others, a *certificate* proves a cheap and expeditious riddance of the expense of supporting the institutions of our holy faith, and a general indifference to their prosperity may be concealed under the appearance of scruples of conscience.

* Jacob Fisher, Esq.

† S. V. S. Wilder, Esq.

‡ Mr. Abel Wrixford.

MEMOIR OF JUDGE SPRAGUE.

The Hon. John Sprague was a citizen of Lancaster from Sept. 1, 1770, to the 21st of Sept. 1800, the time of his death. The town was much indebted to him for the correctness of their municipal proceedings, and the unanimity with which their affairs were conducted. He was born at Rochester, in the county of Plymouth, then Province of the Massachusetts Bay, on the 21st of June A. D. 1740, O. S. corresponding to the 2d of July, N. S. He was the son of Noah Sprague, Esq. by Sarah, his wife, who was a lineal descendant of Elizabeth Penn, the sister of Sir William Penn, who was an Admiral under Cromwell, and the father of William Penn, the proprietor of Pennsylvania; her husband was William Hammond, of London. Benjamin Hammond, their son, removed from London to Sandwich, in the colony of Plymouth, married there in 1650, and thence removed to Rochester. John Hammond the second son by this marriage, married Mary Arnold, daughter of the Rev. Samuel Arnold, the first minister of Rochester, and Sarah, a daughter, by this marriage was Mr. Sprague's mother. Judge Sprague began to prepare for College in Dec. 1760, and entered therein at Cambridge at the end of the summer vacation after, viz. A. D. 1761. Having pursued his collegiate studies with reputation, he graduated in 1765, and soon after took charge of the grammar school in Roxbury; commenced the study of physic there, and pursued it under the instruction of the late Doct. Thomas Williams for a short time, viz. until May, 1766. In that month he removed to Worcester, abandoned the study of physic, and entered as a clerk in the office of Col. James Putnam, an eminent Barrister at Law, and kept a private grammar school there. At the May term of the Court of Common Pleas, 1768, he was admitted an Attorney of that Court, removed from thence to Rhode Island, and in the following Sept. was admitted an Attorney in the Superior Court in the county of Providence, colony of Rhode Island, &c. and opened his office in Newport; there he remained without the prospect of much business, in the diligent pursuit of his professional studies, until May, 1769, when he removed to Keene, in the county of Cheshire, then province of New Hampshire, where he pursued the practice of Law until Sept. 1, 1770, made himself acquainted with the people, and the business of the Courts there, and by his talents, industry and fidelity, acquired a reputation which long afterward afforded him extensive professional employment in the interior counties of that province. Inclined to take up his permanent abode in his na-

tive province, he then removed from Keene to Lancaster, in the county of Worcester, and opened an office in partnership with Abel Willard, Esq. a respectable Counsellor at Law, for the term of ten years, beginning the 21st of the same month. This partnership was interrupted by the war with Great Britain. Mr. Willard adhering to the King, left Lancaster in March, 1775, and never returned. In April, 1772, he was admitted an Attorney of the Superior Court at Worcester. In Dec. 1772, he married Catherine Foster, of Charlestown, the twelfth child and ninth daughter of Richard Foster, Esq. Sheriff of Middlesex; by this marriage, he had one son and two daughters. He was occupied in extensive professional employment, till arms silenced the laws; then he shared in the burdens and privations common to his neighbors and fellow citizens in the eventful period of the revolution. Having purchased a small farm in the centre of the town, he labored upon it as a farmer; dismantled himself of his linen and ruffles and other appropriate habiliments, and assumed the garments of labor, which were then the checkered shirt and trowsers. He was resorted to for counsel in all cases of difficulty which occurred, and toward the close of the revolution, when our government was formed, and business revived, he was one of the principal counsellors and advocates in our Courts of Justice. His legal learning was so well combined with and aided by common sense, and a sound discretion, that he was considered one of the most safe, discerning and upright counsellors in the Commonwealth. As an advocate, he was not the most eloquent, but such was the fairness of his statements and force of his arguments, that conviction seemed their natural result. He was cotemporary with the two Stronges, the late Governor, and the late Judge, both of the county of Hampshire, and the late Hon. Levi Lincoln, of Worcester, and divided with them the multiplied business of advocating causes and collecting debts in the counties of Hampshire, Worcester and Middlesex, and in the counties of Hillsborough and Cheshire, in New Hampshire. In May, 1782, he was elected a representative of the town to the General Court, and in the January session following, a vacancy in the Senate occurring, being a candidate, voted for by the people, was elected by the Legislature to fill that vacancy, and was again elected to the Senate by the people in 1785. In February, 1783, he was first commissioned a Justice of the Peace and quorum, for the county of Worcester. So high was he held in the estimation of the Judges of the Supreme Judicial Court, as a Lawyer, that at the February term of that

Court in Suffolk, 1784, he was made a Barrister at Law, and was called to that distinction by the first writ that issued for Barrister in the Commonwealth ; the mode of admission preceding the revolution having been without writ. He was to have been admitted before the revolution, but the tumults in the country interrupted the Courts. He was elected to represent the town in the General Court in 1784 and 1785.

In 1786, Mr. Sprague was selected by the Government as the law adviser of Maj. Gen. Lincoln, to attend him in his expedition against Daniel Shays and his adherents, who had excited a rebellion in the Commonwealth.

May 5, 1787, he was bereaved of his wife, and in the latter part of the same year, he married Mary Ivers, the widow of Thomas Ivers, Esq. late Treasurer of the Commonwealth, and eldest child of Mr. John Cutler and Mary, his wife, of Boston, who survived him. In 1788, he was elected a member of the convention for ratifying the Constitution of the United States. The town was opposed to the ratification, and by a committee of seven gave him instructions to vote against it. Having confidence, however, in the intelligence and rectitude of their delegate, they so qualified the instructions as to leave him to vote as he should think proper. He was one of seven out of fifty members from the county, who voted in the affirmative. In the winter of the same year, he was appointed Sheriff of the county of Worcester, in the place of William Greenleaf, Esq. who was removed from that office. He was punctual and faithful in the performance of his official duties, reduced the former irregularities in the administration of the office to order and system, and resigned it in 1792.

He returned to the practice of law, and continued in it until 1798. He represented the town in the General Court from the year 1795 to 1799 inclusive. In 1798, he was appointed Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of Worcester. It was a new and valuable acquisition to have a learned lawyer at the head of the Judicial administration of the County, whose integrity and talents fitted him for the station, and whose justice and impartiality would ensure the confidence of all engaged in the business of the Court. In this office he continued until his death. His historical and legal knowledge, the accuracy of his mind, and its adaptation in the choice of language to express it on all subjects, rendered him a very useful member of the legislature, and he was looked to as a safe adviser and guide in the political and local concerns of the Commonwealth.

He was a lover of peace, and possessed a happy talent at reconciling jarring interests and harmonizing discordant feelings. Such were his mental qualities, so strong his sense of justice and honourable dealing, that he was selected, before he was on the bench, a commissioner or referee to adjust the numerous controversies which prevailed to an alarming degree in the then District of Maine, between those who, without title, had settled on the lands of the Commonwealth, of the Waldo Patent and Plymouth Company on the one part, and the lawful proprietors of them on the other. By his co-operating agency, together with the enactments thereon by the legislature, such a settlement of the contending claims was effected as restored peace and contentment to the parties.

In the course of his professional career, many young gentlemen of liberal education, entered his office as students in law, and derived from him the requisite instruction. Of the distinguished men now living who were his pupils, are the Honorable Edward H. Robbins, late Lieut. Governor of the Commonwealth, now Judge of Probate for the county of Norfolk.—The Honorable Nathaniel Paine, Judge of Probate for the County of Worcester.—The Honorable Artemas Ward, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts,—and John M. Forbes, Esq. now Charge d' Affairs, at Buenos Ayres.

In his domestic relations he was faithful and affectionate ; a good neighbor, unostentatious in his professions of friendship, but manifested his sincerity by kindness and beneficence and untiring efforts to do good. He was a lover of order, and ready at all times to promote the interest and honor of the town. His charities, hospitality and benevolence are by many still remembered. The writer of this memoir, who was his neighbor, and at his desire by his bedside the last twenty four hours of his life, witnessed his calmness and resignation at the approach of death, and his faith in Him who giveth the victory.

His tomb stone, it is hoped, justly repeats the benediction of the Saviour,—“Blessed are the peace makers, for they shall be called the children of God.”

APPENDIX.

LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES TO THE GENERAL COURT, FROM
THE FIRST ON RECORD, TO THE PRESENT TIME.

1671	Thomas Beattle,	1737	Jabez Fairbanks,
1672	Thomas Beattle,	1738	Jabez Fairbanks,
1673	(Ralph ?) Houghton,	1739	Ebenezer Wilder,
1689	Ralph Houghton,	1740	Samuel Willard,
1693	John Houghton,	1741	William Richardson,
1697	John Houghton,	1742	Samuel Willard,
1705	John Houghton,	1744	Ephraim Wilder,
1706	John Houghton,	1745	William Richardson,
1707	Thomas Sawyer,	1746	Joseph Wilder, Jr.
1708	John Houghton,	1747	Joseph Wilder, Jr.
7710	Josiah Whitcomb,	1748	William Richardson,
1711	John Houghton,	1749	William Richardson,
1712	John Houghton,	1751	Joseph Wilder, Jr.
1714	Jabez Fairbanks,	1752	Joseph Wilder, Jr.
1715	John Houghton,	1753	Joseph Wilder, Jr.
1716	John Houghton,	1754	William Richardson,
1717	John Houghton,	1755	David Wilder,
1718	John Houghton,	1756	William Richardson,
1719	John Houghton,	1757	David Wilder,
1720	Joseph Wilder,	1758	William Richardson,
1721	{ John Houghton,	1759	William Richardson,
	{ Jabez Fairbanks,	1760	William Richardson,
1722	Jabez Fairbanks,	1761	William Richardson,
1723	Jabez Fairbanks,	1762	David Wilder,
1724	John Houghton,	1763	David Wilder,
1725	Joseph Wilder,	1764	David Wilder,
1726	Joseph Wilder,	1765	David Wilder,
1727	Samuel Willard,	1766	Asa Whitcomb,
1728	Josiah White,	1767	David Wilder,
2729	Josiah White,	1768	Asa Whitcomb,
1730	Josiah White,	1769	Asa Whitcomb,
1731	Josiah White,	1770	Asa Whitcomb,
1732	James Wilder,	1771	Asa Whitcomb,
1733	James Keyes,	1772	Asa Whitcomb,
1734	Ephraim Wilder,	1773	Asa Whitcomb,
1735	Ephraim Wilder,	1774	Asa Whitcomb,
1736	Ephraim Wilder,	1775	Ebenezer Allen,

1775	Hezekiah Gates,	1778	William Dunsmoor,
1776	William Dunsmoor,		Samuel Thurston,
1777	William Dunsmoor,	1779	Joseph Reed.

UNDER THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION.

1780	William Putnam,	1807	Eli Stearns,
1781	William Dunsmoor,	1808	Eli Stearns,
1782	John Sprague,		Jonas Lane,
1783	John Sprague,	1809	Eli Stearns,
1784	John Sprague,		Jonas Lane,
1785	John Sprague,	1810	Eli Stearns,
1786	Ephraim Carter, Jr.		Jonas Lane,
1787	Michael Newhall,	1811	Jonas Lane,
1788	Michael Newhall,		Jacob Fisher,
1789	Michael Newhall,	1812	Jonas Lane,
1790	Ephraim Carter,		Jacob Fisher,
1791	Ephraim Carter, Jr.	1813	Jacob Fisher,
1792	Ephraim Carter, Jr.		William Cleaveland,
1793	John Whiting,	1814	William Cleaveland,
1794	John Sprague,		John Thurston,
1795	John Sprague,	1815	William Cleaveland,
1796	John Sprague,		John Thurston,
1797	John Sprague,	1816	John Thurston,
1798	John Sprague,		Edward Goodwin,
1799	John Sprague,	1817	John Thurston,
1800	Samuel Ward,		Benjamin Wyman,
1801	Samuel Ward,	1818	John Thurston,
1802	William Stedman,		Solomon Carter,
1803	Jonathan Wilder,	1819	Benjamin Wyman,
1804	Jonathan Wilder,	1821	Jacob Fsher,
1805	Jonathan Wilder,	1823	Jacob Fisher,
1806	Jonathan Wilder,	1826	John Thurston.
	Eli Stearns,		

Where any year is omitted the town was not represented.

Beattle was afterwards one of the deputies from Concord. I do not know that he ever lived here. Thomas Sawyer was the one who was taken captive in 1705. Col. Asa Whitcomb, the revolutionary patriot who represented the town many years in the Legislature, is particularly mentioned in Mr. Goodwin's history of Sterling.

October, 1774, William Dunsmoor was chosen to represent the town in the Provincial Convention at Concord.

Dunsmoor and Asa Whitcomb were delegates to the Provincial Congress at Cambridge, February 1, 1775.

Joseph Reed and Ebenezer Allen, delegates to the State Convention in Concord, July 14, 1779, to the County Convention at Worcester on the second Tuesday of August, 1779, and to attend at Concord first Wednesday in October, 1779.

William Dunsmoor, Ephraim Wilder and William Putnam, delegates to the Convention in Cambridge, September, 1779. This was the Convention that formed our present Constitution of State Government.

Timothy Whiting and Ephraim Carter, delegates to the County Convention at Worcester, April, 1782.

Ebenezer Allen, delegate to the County Convention at Leicester, August 1786.

John Sprague, delegate to the Convention for ratifying the Federal Constitution. It is worthy of remark that out of the whole County of Worcester on the question for adopting the Constitution, there were forty three nays and but seven yeas. The latter were Messrs. Sprague of this town, Seth Newton of Southborough, Samuel Baker of Bolton, David Wilder of Leominster, Matthew Patrick of Western, Josiah Goddard of Athol, and Ephraim Wilder of Sterling.

John Maynard, Jonathan Wilder, and William Cleveland, delegates to the County Convention at Worcester, August, 1812.

Jacob Fisher and Davis Whitman, delegates to the Convention in Boston, November, 1820, for revising the Constitution of the State.

PUBLIC OFFICERS.

County Treasurer, Jonathan Houghton, 1731 to 1733.

Judge of Court of Common Pleas and Chief Justice, Joseph Wilder, 1731 to 1757.

Judge Court of Common Pleas, Samuel Willard, 1743 to 1753.

Joseph Wilder, son of first Judge Joseph Wilder, 1762 to 1773.

John Sprague, June 28, 1798, Chief Justice, July 31, 1798 to 1800.

Clerk of the Courts, William Stedman, 1810 to 1811. 1812 to 1816.

Sheriff, William Greenleaf, 1778 to 1788. John Sprague, 1788 to 1792.

Judge of Probate, Joseph Wilder, 1739 to 1757.

Assistant Justices of the Court of Sessions, John Whiting, March 1, 1808 to April 20, 1809. Timothy Whiting, November 14, 1811.

Senators, John Sprague, 1785 to 1786. Moses Smith, 1814 to 1816.

Representatives to Congress. William Stedman, 1803 to 1810.

Justices of the Peace. I have no means of being accurate prior to 1788. Soon after the settlement of the town, Major Willard, who resided here for a short time, was a magistrate by virtue of his office, as one of the Court of Assistants. After the town was rebuilt, came John Houghton, and, probably, he was the only magistrate for some years. Then followed Judge Joseph Wilder, father and son, Col. Oliver Wilder, Col. Samuel Willard, father and son, Col. Abijah Willard, and Abel Willard, William Richardson, Joseph Reed, — Osgood, &c. After the peace, William Dunsmoor, and John Sprague.

Since 1788, they are as follows,* viz:

Appointed

March 14, 1788, Josiah Wilder.

Jan. 23, 1789, Israel Atherton.

Oct. 14, 1789, Timothy Whiting jr. quorum, Oct. 15, 1807.

Sept. 18, 1790, *William Stedman*, quorum, Jan. 21, 1801.

June 24, 1799, Samuel Ward, quorum, Jan. 28, 1806.

Feb. 1, 1803, *Josiah Flag.*

June 14, 1803, *Benjamin Wyman.*

May 26, 1806, Joseph Wales.

May 13, 1808, Merrick Rice.

Oct. 18, 1809, Moses Smith, jr. quorum, July 3, 1816.

Dec. 17, 1811, Paul Willard.

June 16, 1812, *Jacob Fisher.*

Jan. 20, 1814, Ebenezer Torrey.

Dec. 3, 1816, *Edward Goodwin.*

June 9, 1821, John Stuart.

Jan. 24, 1822, *Jonas Lane.*

Aug. 26, 1823, *Levi Lewis.*

Jan. 7, 1825, *Joseph Willard.*

“ “ *William Willard.*

Those in Italics are now in commission.

ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW.

Admitted to practice,

Worcester C. C. P. Nov. Term, 1755, Abel Willard, to 1775.—

Removed.

Worcester, C. C. P. March Term, 1768, John Sprague, 1770 to 1800.—Died.

Admitted in Worcester, Levi Willard, about the year 1786—Died.

* This list was furnished by Edward D. Bangs, Esq. Secretary of State.

Essex, Sept. Term, C. C. P. 1787, *William Stedman*, to 1810 and from 1821.

Worcester, March Term, 1789, Merrick Rice to 1815.—Removed to Harvard—Died.

Worcester, Dec. Term, 1802, Moses Smith to 1825.—Relinquished the practice.

Worcester, March Term, 1803, Samuel John Sprague to 1805—Died.

In Middlesex, John Stuart, here from 1821 to 1822.—Removed to Boston.

Worcester, Sept. Term, C. C. P. 1811, John Davis, jr. to 1821.—Removed to Charlton.

Middlesex, Dec. Term, C. C. P. 1819, *Joseph Willard* from 1821, July; at Waltham from March 1820, to July 1821.

Middlesex, June Term, C. C. P. 1824, *Solon Whiting*, Attorney at Law.

Those in Italicks are now in practice in this town. Abel Willard, son of Col. Samuel Willard, who was representative of the town some years, was held in great esteem, and was the instrument of healing many differences without litigation. He went to London in 1775, earlier than was stated in a former note, and died there before the termination of the war. Samuel J. Sprague, Harvard University, 1799, was son of Judge Sprague, Harvard University, 1765, A. A. S. died Sept. 10, 1805, of an injury received by a fall. Levi Willard, Harvard University, 1775, born 1756. After leaving college he resided for some time in England, on his return he studied law with Judge Sprague. He opened an office in Lancaster, and practised there for a short time in 1786, and till his death. William Stedman, Harvard University, 1784. Merrick Rice, Harvard University, 1785. Joseph Willard, Harvard University, 1816, L. L. B. Solon Whiting, son of the late General John Whiting.

PHYSICIANS.

Daniel Greenleaf, died in Bolton.

John Dunsmoor, died Dec. 7, 1747, aged 45.

Staunton Prentice, died Dec. 1, 1769, aged 58.

Phineas Phelps, died Aug. 12, 1770, aged 37.

William Dunsmoor, died May 26, 1784, aged 50.

Israel Atherton, Harvard University, 1662, M. M. S. Soc. died July, 1822, aged 82.

Josiah Wilder, Y. C. died Dec. 20, 1788, aged 45.

James Carter, died 1817.

Samuel Manning, Harvard University, 1797, M. D. M. M. S. Soc. moved to Cambridge in 1821, died 1822.

Nathaniel Peabody, M. D. Dart. M. M. S. Soc. 1821 to 1822.

Calvin Carter, Licentiate.

George Baker, Harvard University, 1816, M. D. M. M. S. Soc.

Right Cummings, Licentiate,

The three last are now in practice here. Greenleaf from Newbury, I find first mentioned in 1734, and as late as 1760. John Dunsmoor, was probably born in Ireland. "Old father Dunsmoor," probably John's father, a member of the Church in Ireland, was admitted to communion in Rev. Mr. Prentice's Church, Aug. 21, 1740. Saunton Prentice was the eldest son of Rev. Mr. Prentice. William Dunsmoor was son of John. Israel Atherton, was a descendant of James Atherton, who came to Lancaster March 15, 1653. James had a son James born 13 May, 1654, Joshua born 13 May, 1656. Joshua was father of Col. Peter, born 12 April, 1705, died June 13, 1764. Peter was father of Hon. Joshua Atherton, born 20 June, 1737, and Dr. Israel, born Nov. 20, 1741. Josiah Wilder was son of Col. James Wilder. James Carter was son of Capt. James Carter, of this town. Samuel Manning was from Cambridge. Calvin Carter is son of Dr. James. George Baker is a native of Dedham, and Right Cummings, of Lunenburg.

Before the first Dunsmoor, and Greenleaf, the earliest of the *Faculty* in this town, was a female, "Doctress Whitcomb." The "Doctress" was here, probably, as early as A. D. 1700. *She studied the profession with the Indians, with whom she was at one time a captive, and acquired her knowledge of simples from them. She was quite distinguished in this neighborhood as one of the Faculty.* Before her time, there was no physician nearer than Concord.

GRADUATES AT DIFFERENT COLLEGES.

Harvard University.

1733* *Josiah Swan*, born 1701, minister of Dunstable, as before mentioned.

1752* *Abel Willard*, born Jan. 12, 1732.

1755* *Samuel Locke*, S. T. D. born Nov. 23, 1732, son of Samuel Locke of this town, minister of Sherburn, and President of Harvard University, 1770 to 1773, died in Sherburne of apoplexy.

1766 *Peter Green*, M. M. S. Soc. hon. born Oct. 1, 1745, son of the late Peter Green of this town. See ante note.

1770 *John Mellen*, Tutor, A. A. and S. H. S. born July 8, 1752.

1775* *Levi Willard*, born Aug. 13, 1756.

1776* *Timothy Harrington*, born Sept. 17, 1753. A physician in Chelmsford, as before mentioned.

- 1777* *Joseph Kilburn*, born Nov. 3, 1755 or 6.
 1781* *Isaac Bailey*, born Feb. 24, 1753.
 1798* *Artemas Sawyer*, born Nov. 2, 1777.
 1799* *Samuel John Sprague*, born 1780.
 1817 *Sewell Carter*, merchant in Lancaster.
 1817* *Moses K. Emerson*, a physician, died in Virginia, 1825.
 1817 *Paul Willard*, Counsellor at Law, Charlestown.
 1821 *Henry Lane*, M. D. a physician in Boston.
 1822 *Samuel Manning* studied law. He now resides in Mexico.
 “ *Ebenezer Torry*, Attorney at law in Fitchburg.
 1823 *Levi Fletcher*, Chaplain U. S. Frigate *Macedonian*.
 1824 *Christopher T. Thayer*, Theological student at Cambridge.
 1825 *Frederick Wilder*, died at Northampton, “*Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit*,” Feb. 1826.
 1826 *Stephen M. Weld*.

Messrs. Mellen, Kilburn and Bailey, are of the “*Chocksett literati*.” See Vol. 1. *Worcester Magazine*, 379, 380.

Dr. Josiah Wilder and Israel Houghton, Graduated at Yale College about ten years before the revolution. I have not the catalogue by me to fix the year.

Jacob Willard graduated at Brown University, ~~1826~~¹⁸²⁸. *William White*, do. do. ¹⁸²⁸. Theological students at Cambridge.

Abel Willard, son of *Joshua W.* of Petersham, entered Harvard University, 1772, left in 1775 and went to England with his uncle *Abel Willard*, Esq. of this town. Died in Canada.

Nathan Osgood entered Harvard University, 1782 and left.

Samuel Ward “ “ 1784, “

Jeffery Amherst Atherton, “ 1791, died 1793.

Abel Willard Atherton, “ 1795, and left.

Richard Cleveland and *Henry Russel Cleveland* are now in the Senior Class at the University.

NOTE ON THE WILDERS.

The tradition of the family is, that *Thomas Wilder* the first of the name in this country, came from Lancaster in England; that he settled in Hingham, and had four sons, that one son remained in Hingham, from whom are descended all of the name of Wilder, in that town and vicinity. I find that *Thomas Wilder* was made freeman, 2d June, 1641, and that he was of Charlestown in 1642. One named *Edward* took the freeman's oath, 29th May, 1644, and was afterwards of Hingham, (2 Mass. Hist. Col. iv. 221) but whether, or how, related to *Thomas* I do not know.

Thomas moved to Lancaster, July 1, 1659, was one of the selectmen, and died October 23, 1667. He left three sons in Lancaster, viz. Thomas, John and Nathaniel, from whom are derived all of the name of Wilder, in this town. *Thomas*, the eldest son, died August, 1717, aged 76, had Col James and Joseph. From James who married Rev. Mr. Gardner's sister, came 2d Colonel James of Lancaster, and Gardner, in Leominster. From the last Colonel James, came James, Dr. Josiah, and Asaph, all of whose families are extinct. Gardner has many descendants now in Leominster.

Joseph, the son of Thomas above mentioned, married Rev. Mr. Gardner's sister; he was a distinguished man in town, and possessed great influence. He was an active magistrate; for many years he represented the town in the Legislature, and was Judge and Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, from 1731 to 1757, and Judge of Probate from 1739 to 1757. He died March 29, 1757, aged 74. His sons were Thomas of Leominster, Andrew, Judge Joseph, and Colonel Caleb. Joseph was Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, from 1762, to 1773, representative of the town in the Legislature, and died, April 20, 1773, aged 65. He and Col. Caleb were the first in America, who established pot and pearl-ash works. Caleb died, June 19, 1776, aged 59. Thomas, last named, had three sons, Hon. Abel Wilder of Winchendon, of the Senate, from 1786 to 1792: Thomas of Leominster, and Joseph of Winchendon. Caleb's sons were Samuel and Caleb of Ashburnham, Nahum and Levi. Samuel had a large family of sons. Caleb had two sons, one was Dr. Wilder of Templeton. Levi, who died Jan. 5, 1793, was father of the present Sampson V. S. Wilder of Bolton.

John, the second son of the first settler, had three sons, viz:—John, Thomas, and Ebenezer. From John came John of Petersham, Jonas of Bolton, Josiah and Jonathan of Sterling, Aholiab and Bezaleel of Shutesbury, William of Bolton; thomas had two sons, John of Ludlow, and Jotham. The latter four sons, Stephen and Titus, Jotham of Saltash, Vt. Reuben, do. From Stephen and Titus are descended the present Wilders in the "six nations."* From Ebenezer, Representative in 1739, who died, Dec. 25, 1745, aged 64, came Benjamin of Sterling, and David. From Benjamin, Col. Wilder, of Sterling. From David, who was a Representative many years, came David of Leominster, Samuel and John, Abel and Jacob of Vermont, Luke of Penobscot, and Jonathan.

*South part of Lancaster.

From David last named, is descended the present David of Leominster, commissioner of Highways, &c. Jonathan had eleven sons; nine lived to man's estate, viz:—Jonathan, David, John, Luke, Cephas, Prescott, Lewis, Henry, and Frederick. The last died at Northampton, in Feb. 1826, universally lamented.

Nathaniel, the third son of the first settler, lived in Lancaster, and was killed by the Indians, July 1704. From him are descended Jonathan, killed by the Indians August, 1707, Nathaniel of Petersham, Ephraim of Lancaster, a Representative for a number of years, who died Dec. 13, 1769, aged 94, and Col. Oliver. Nathaniel, last named, had a large family. Ephraim, had a son of the same name, who died March 17, 1770, aged 68. This last had three sons, Ephraim, Manassah, and William. Ephraim last named, settled in Sterling, had a large family, of whom Dea. Joel of this town is one. Manassah had two sons, Joseph and Sumner. William had two sons who left children, viz: Ephraim and Elijah.

Col. Oliver had four sons, Oliver, Tilley, Phineas and Moses. Oliver and Moses remained in Lancaster, and from them are descended all of the name of Wilder, in the westerly part of Lancaster, except Joel and Elijah.

NOTE ON SEVERAL OF THE NAME OF HOUGHTON.

Ralph and John Houghton, as has been before mentioned, were cousins, and came to Lancaster in 1653. Ralph wrote a good business hand and was recorder many years. He represented the town as a deputy in the general court in 1673, and 1689. He probably died a few years after. Of his children, were John, born April 23, 1655, and Joseph, born July 1, 1657. John, the cousin of Ralph, whose wife was Beatrix, had a son Benjamin, born May 25, 1668. William and Robert were also sons. There is reason to believe that he died April 29, 1684. John Houghton, Esq. was another son of John. He was born in England, it is said, in 1650, or 1651. He was quite young when his parents moved to Lancaster. From 1693 to 1724, inclusive, he represented the town fourteen years in the General Court. For a long time after the town was rebuilt he appears to have been the only magistrate in the place. He was quite celebrated in this neighborhood, as a man of weight and influence, and was a very skilful conveyancer. In this business he had great employment. He gave the land for the second meeting house. His dwelling house was on the south side of the old common, a little to the south west of Mr. Faulkner's. Three ancient pear trees planted by himself stand in front of the site of his house.

During the last twelve years of his life he was blind. He died Feb. 3. 1736-7 in the 27th year of his age.

The epitaph on his tomb stone, is the same that was common in the country a century ago. viz.

As you are
So were we
As we are
So you will be.

Jonathan Houghton, the first County Treasurer, was one of his sons.

ADDENDA.

A few additional memoranda, the names of those who "desired to be made freemen," taken from 2 Savage's Winthrop, just published. Those in *Italics*, at least those of the same name, were among the early settlers of Lancaster.

<i>John Johnson</i> , Oct. 19, 1630.	William Ballard, May 2, 1638.
William Phelps, Oct. 19, 1630.	<i>John Tower</i> , Dec. 13, 1638.
<i>John Moore</i> , May 18, 1631.	James Bennett, " "
<i>John Pierce</i> , " " "	Henry Gains, Dec. 14, 1638.
Thomas James, Nov. 6, 1632.—This was I presume, the minister of Charlestown, one of the same name perhaps a son, was here, 1653.	<i>Edward Breck</i> , May 22, 1639.
<i>John White</i> , March 4, 1632-3.	<i>Thomas Wilder</i> , June 2, 1641.
<i>John Smith</i> , " " "	<i>John Mansfield</i> , May 10, 1643.
Joshua Carter, May 14, 1634.	John Thurston, " " "
Richard Fairbanks, " "	Nathaniel Norcross, May 10, 1643.—
John Hawkes, Sept. 13, 1634.	This is the gentleman who was engaged to accompany the first planters, and was a "University scholar." Mr. Savage thinks that he returned to England.
George Phelps, May 6, 1635.	William Fletcher, May 10, 1643.
John Whitney, March 3, 1635-6.	John Carter, May 29, 1644.
Edward Bennett, May 25, 1636.	Edward Wilder, " "
Thomas Carter, March 9, 1636-7.	John Maynard, " "
Thomas Rawlinson, May 2, 1638.—I must think this to be the same as Rowlandson, father of Rev. Joseph.	<i>Nathaniel Hadlock</i> , May 6, 1646.
Thomas Carter, May 2, 1638.—probably the same as above, and ancestor of the Carters in Lancaster.	Thomas Carter, jr. May 26, 1647.
	Samuel Carter, " " "
	John Smith, " " "
	John Pierce, May 10, 1643.

Richard Dwellley probably did not return to town after it was resettled, if he ever lived here. I find him mentioned as a soldier in Scituate, in 1676, 2. Mass. Hist. Col. iv. 229. "Others of the same town, (Watertown) began also a plantation at Nashaway, some 15 miles north west of Sudbury." 2 Savage's Winthrop, 152.

1648. "This year a new way was found out to Connecticut, by Nashaway, which avoided much of the hilly way." 2. Winthrop's N. E. 325.

Maze, Rigby, Kettle, and Luxford, names in Lancaster in 1668-9, disappeared as early probably as Philip's war.

Three acres of land in front of the house of Mr. Richard I. Cleveland, were used as a training field, in the time of the first Judge Wilder.

For the biography of the late Judge Sprague, I am indebted to William Stedman, Esq.

PAGES.

- 5 line 17, for "fact," read part.
- 6 18th line from bottom for "area and of its branches," read area of its branches.
- 7 line 16 from top for "least," read last.
- 16 3d line from the bottom of the text, for "effected," read affected.
- 19 2d line from top, dele, and, in 2d note for "presented by the Court," read presented the Court.
- 20 line 18 from bottom for "1654 and 1655," read 1664, 1665.
- 22 line 12 from top for "Jonathan Prescott," read John Prescott, for "Peter Green aged 91," read 81.
- 37 17th line from top for "had," read lead.
- 43 3d line from bottom for "Soombes," read Toomb's.
- 53 last line of note (*) for "Jacob Z. Wearers," read Jacob Zwearers.
- 54 8 and 9 lines from bottom read "Willard."
- 55 3d line from top after "excitement" add prevailed, 19th line from top for "Jeremeel," read Jeremy.
- 56 12 lines from top for "authography," read orthography, 16th line from top for "indulged," read indulge.
- 62 4th line from bottom for "or," read nor.
- 69 in note for "3 Ellis," read 2 Ellis.
- 70 6th line from top for "broken off," read taken off.
- 71 3d line from top dele, "cause."
- 72 21st line from top for "June 3, 1792," read June 3, 1793, last note for "Joeph," read Joseph.

The compiler living at a distance from the press, and not being able to revise the sheets, is the reason that some errata have crept into the work: Some typographical errors of less consequence, and those in the points, are not noticed.

F 39691.87

6057 :

